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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered 3 February 1940

By Professor F. M. Stenton, M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A.

The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: Anglo-Saxon Heathenism

The place-names which illustrate the character of Anglo-Saxon heathenism have a special claim on the attention of historians.[1] To scholars such as Bede, who wrote when English paganism was still within the range of living memory, it was a detestable superstition, which could not be ignored, but should not be described. Eighth-century writers, and, in particular, Bede, have preserved the names of a number of heathen gods, and recorded the occasion of a number of heathen festivals; they refer to temples, to idols, to altars, and to sacrifices, and their language suggests the existence of different ranks within the heathen priesthood. But it is only a dim impression of the pagan foreworld which can be

[1] Most of the material on which this address is founded is well known, and I wish to make a general reference to the county volumes issued by the English Place-Name Society, to Professor Ekwall's *Oxford dictionary of English place-names*, and to the article by Professor Dickins which is quoted on page 3. This year, again, I have to thank Sir Allen Mawer for his kindness in reading my typescript. I should add that in choosing the names to which I have referred in the address, I have confined myself to those which are recorded in one or more medieval forms.

recovered from their writings, and the points at which it can be reinforced by quotation from later authorities are very few. There is undoubtedly a basis of ancient heathen material in the miscellaneous collection of texts which appeared in the Rolls Series between 1864 and 1866 under the title *Leechdoms, wortcunning, and starcraft of early England*.[1] There is no need to doubt the high antiquity of the name Erce, under which Mother Earth is addressed in a charm for the healing of bewitched land.[2] But there must always be many reservations in using a literature which is only extant in an eleventh- or twelfth-century form for the illustration of beliefs which had been killed or driven underground by the age of Bede, and the possibility that Scandinavian influences may have played upon the Leechdoms is one among many uncertainties which complicate their evidence. Among non-literary sources of information, archaeology, which has produced a great store of material for the burial customs of the heathen English, has thrown little, if any, light on the nature of their cults or the distribution of their holy places. Up to the present time, no Anglo-Saxon temple has been excavated, or even identified by structural remains. If it were not for the evidence of place-names, the local centres of heathen English worship would be virtually unknown, and it would be impossible to say anything definite about the places at which individual gods were honoured.

Naturally, the place-names which give this information have been used by all who have tried to reconstruct the heathen background of Old English society. J. M. Kemble, for example, referred to a considerable number of place-names in the chapter on heathendom in his *Saxons in England*. In 1849, when this great book was published, the collection of early spellings, which is the foundation of place-name study, had not yet been begun, and for many of the names which Kemble used as illustrations of Old English heathenism, a more commonplace origin has since been

[1] Edited by the Rev. Oswald Cockayne. [2] *Leechdoms*, i. 402.

proved. Nevertheless, in this, as in many other ways, Kemble set a profitable example to his successors, and for some time a large amount of tested place-name material has been available to scholars who have wished to follow his line of approach towards the mysteries of primitive English religion. It is used in the most recent detailed study of Old English heathenism—Dr. E. A. Philippson's *Germanisches Heidentum bei den Angelsachsen* [1]—and it is growing rapidly.[2] Its range and variety is most clearly shown in the article entitled *English names and Old English heathenism* which Professor Dickins contributed to the publications of the English Association in 1934.[3] Several interesting discoveries have been made during the last six years, and although there can be no doubt that other names of a heathen cast still await recognition, the names of this type which are already known seem to make possible a few tentative conclusions of historical interest.

On a detailed examination, these names fall clearly enough into two distinct classes. One, and by far the more important, consists of names which denote centres of heathen worship. Many names of this class, such as *Wodnes beorg* or *Thunres leah*, show that a particular place was associated with the worship of a particular god ; others come into the picture because they contain one of the words by which the heathen English, like the Germanic peoples of the Continent, denoted their temples, altars, and sacred precincts.[4] These names are important because the heathenism which they represent was expressed in repeated acts of worship, carried out at sites recognised as holy by the men of an entire country-side, and often, if not always, addressed to individual

[1] Leipzig, 1929.

[2] The introduction to the Ordnance Survey *Map of South Britain in the Dark Ages* (1935) and the *Oxford history of England*, vol. i. (1936), contain maps indicating the position of some thirty heathen names. In the first of these maps, by O. G. S. Crawford, the heathen names are combined with place-names in *ing*. The second map, by J. N. L. Myres, also marks the principal heathen English burial-grounds.

[3] *Essays and studies by members of the English Association*, xix. 148–60.

[4] These words are discussed *infra*, pp. 10–16.

divinities. Each of these names, in fact, points to the local practice of some definite cult, or series of related cults, different in essential character from the casual propitiation of the supernatural under-world created by popular imagination. Belief in the emanations of this under-world—in elves and giants, dragons, goblins, and monsters—was undoubtedly strong in the heathen period. But though discountenanced by Christian opinion it was not inimical to the new religion. Its compatibility with Christian feeling is shown in the one great epic poem of the English Heroic Age, and it survived for centuries beneath the surface of the popular mind. The numerous local names which reflect its humbler manifestations have their own interest. But it is clearly advisable to keep them well apart from the names which illustrate the more formidable, if less resistant, worship of specific gods and natural forces.

It can safely be assumed that the heathen English were also moved by the pantheism which felt the presence of dimly apprehended powers in particular springs, stones, and trees. There are place-names which may preserve a trace of this belief, though the evidence is never quite conclusive. An ash-tree "which the ignorant call holy" is mentioned among the boundaries of Taunton in a charter dated 854.[1] The boundaries may be ancient, though they are hardly so old as 854, but the present form of the charter is clearly spurious. Some of the numerous place-names which mean "holy well" or "holy tree" may go back to the heathen time, but few, if any, of them can now be identified. Dr. O. S. Anderson has recently made the very interesting suggestion that the Sussex hundred-name which appears in Domesday Book in the form *Ghidenetroi* may mean "tree of the goddess", from the Old English *gyden*, genitive *gydenne*.[2] Unfortunately, no later forms of the name have been found, and there is no means of confirming this interpretation. But to some extent it is supported by the name

[1] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 476.
[2] *English hundred-names*, part iii (Lund, 1939), 70.

Easwrith, borne by another Sussex hundred, which may mean the thicket of a man called Ēsa, but more probably means "the thicket of the gods".[1]

The cruder phantoms of popular mythology have left unequivocal traces in the place-names of most English counties.[2] Their number is steadily increasing as the material contained in ancient field-names becomes better known. Many of them can be found in districts where there are few, if any, genuine heathen names. In Nottinghamshire, for example, there are no village names of heathen origin, but the Old English *thyrs*, "giant", occurs twice, and the Old English *draca*, "dragon", once, in medieval field names. Nottinghamshire, or, at least, the Trent valley, may well have been a region of primary settlement, but many words of this type can be traced in districts which English colonists can hardly have occupied for more than a generation before their conversion to Christianity. The Old English *scucca*, "spectre", which is the commonest of all these words of fantasy, occurs not only within ancient heathen territory, as in Shugborough in Staffordshire, Shuckburgh in Warwickshire, Shucklow in Buckinghamshire, and Shuckton in Derbyshire,[3] but also in Shobrooke in Devon, Shucknall in Herefordshire, and Shocklach in Cheshire. Drakelow in south Derbyshire, which means "dragon's mound", is little more than a mile from an important Anglian cemetery of the heathen time,[4] but a doublet of the name occurs in Dragley, a hamlet of Ulverston away in Lancashire beyond the Sands.[5] Names of this type have their own value as illustrations of popular beliefs, but the beliefs themselves cannot have been peculiar to the heathen age, and it is obviously unsafe to use the names

[1] *Ibid.*, 80, where Dr. Anderson compares *esa gescot*, "arrow of the gods", which occurs in a charm in *Leechdoms*, iii. 54.

[2] A large and representative collection is brought together by Professor Dickins in the article mentioned on page 3.

[3] Originally *Scuccan thorn*; B. Walker, *The Place-names of Derbyshire* (1915), p. 219.

[4] At Stapenhill, south of Burton-on-Trent.

[5] Ekwall, *The Place-names of Lancashire* (1922), p. 212.

which reflect them as evidence for the chronology of the English conquest.

As materials for history, their chief interest lies in the inferences which they suggest as to the intellectual background of Old English epic poetry. The language of *Beowulf*, the poem in which English epic traditions come to their fullest expression, is coloured at many points by the imagery of popular myth. The hero's conflicts with monsters form the central theme of the whole poem. The nature of the feeling behind this mythological framework is one of the central problems of Beowulf criticism. One line along which it can be approached is indicated by the multitude of sinister creations evoked by popular imagination and immortalised in local names. There can be no doubt that the men who created names like Shugborough and Drakelow believed in the objective reality of spectres and dragons. On such a matter, there can have been little, if any, difference of feeling between the peasants among whom these names arose and the aristocratic society for which, presumably, the poem of *Beowulf* was composed. The story of the encounter between Beowulf and the monster Grendel has been carried into an atmosphere of remote dignity by a great master of heroic verse. But a number of local names, such as *Grendles mere* near the boundary of Wiltshire and Berkshire, *Grendels mere* near the boundary of Staffordshire and Worcestershire, and *Grendeles pyt* in the east of Devon, point to a widespread belief in the existence of a monster thus named, which is unlikely to have been confined to the lower classes of society.[1] Many of the thegns who listened to the tale of Beowulf and Grendel must have been familiar with such names, and it would clearly be unwise to assume that they disassociated the story from the world of possible experience. In the eighth century, the supernatural had not yet been subdued to the purposes of literary decoration.

[1] These, and other names containing *Grendel*, are enumerated by Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford charters* (1893), p. 50, and discussed by Professor R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf* (1932), 304–11.

It cannot even be assumed that genuine paganism was extinct in England when the century began. The offerings to devils, forbidden by king Wihtred of Kent in 685, were presumably sacrifices to heathen divinities. The existence of communities which were still heathen at a later time than this is suggested by a passage in the earliest life of St. Guthlac. At a date which cannot be earlier than the year 700, Guthlac, when asked who should succeed him at Crowland, replied that his "heir", as yet unbaptised, was living among a heathen people.[1] Guthlac's heir, who afterwards acknowledged that his master had spoken truly, bore the well-recorded English name Cissa, and there is no reason to think that he had ever lived among the heathen of the continent. On the other hand, the professing heathen of this period must have been a small and discountenanced minority of the English peoples, and it is unlikely that any new place-names were brought into being through their adherence to inherited belief and ritual. The scheme of heathen worship which has found expression in place-names must have been unshaken, if not unquestioned, at the time when the names came into being. The mere fact that the name of a heathen cult-centre has survived proves that it was well-established before the triumph of an uncompromising new religion, whose ministers were anxious to obliterate all that bore witness to ancient habits of thought.[2] Names like Woodnesborough, Thundersley, or Harrow, represent

[1] *Memorials of Saint Guthlac*, ed. W. de G. Birch (1881), p. 51. *Respondisse fertur illius loci heredem in gentili populo fuisse necdum ad baptismatis lavacrum devenisse.*

[2] There seems to be no direct evidence for the deliberate re-naming of heathen sites under Christian influence, but there are place-names which suggest that some process of the kind has actually occurred. There are at least five known examples of the place-name Godshill, Gadshill, or Godsell. All these names represent an Old English *Godeshyll*, which formally may mean the hill belonging to a man named *God*—a short form of a compound name such as the familiar Godwine or Godric. But the frequent occurrence of the name *Godeshyll* makes this explanation unsatisfactory, and it is on the whole more probable that each of these names stands for a successful attempt to destroy the unseemly associations of a hill-site once devoted to heathen worship.

beliefs common to large masses of men, who named their holy places, as they named each other's settlements, unreflectingly, for the convenience of ordinary life. They stand for a heathenism as yet unconscious of any vital challenge.

Heathenism was thrown on to the defensive at different times in different parts of England, and there is little that can be said about the limits of date within which new heathen names can have come into existence. The one fixed point in the later history of English heathenism is given by Bede's statement that Earconberht of Kent, who came to the throne in 640, was the first English king who ordered his subjects to abandon and destroy their idols.[1] In many districts, heathenism was still ascendant at a much later time. It was dominant in the Midlands until the fall of Penda of Mercia in 654. Essex was still a heathen kingdom at the middle of the seventh century, and the conversion of Sussex and the Isle of Wight was not seriously attempted until the century was nearing its close. Under these conditions, it is clear that heathen place-names should not, in themselves, be regarded as evidence of early settlement. Nevertheless, it is probable, if not certain, that most of the heathen names which can now be identified arose before rather than after the year 600. With few exceptions, they are confined to country which must have passed into permanent English occupation at an early date. The worship of which they preserve traces was not hidden away in forest sanctuaries, and most of the sites to which they relate were either on the verge of cultivable ground or on conspicuous features of the country-side. Some of them occupy outstanding hills ; many are within a short distance of Roman or other ancient roads, heathen burial-grounds, or villages bearing names of an archaic type. Among the sites which will be mentioned later, Wyham in Lindsey adjoins the prehistoric trackway called Louth Street, which in the Middle Ages still connected the Lincolnshire marshlands with the Humber. Weedon Beck and Weeford are on Watling Street,

[1] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iii. 8.

Thundridge is only a mile from Ermine Street, Weyhill is within sight of the Roman road from Silchester to Old Sarum, and *Wodnes beorg* in Alton is on the Wiltshire extension of the Berkshire Ridge Way at the point where it descends into the Kennet valley. Wye was one of the earliest administrative centres of the Kentish kingdom. Thurstable and *Thunreslau* in Essex and *Wodneslawe* in Bedfordshire were sufficiently accessible to serve as meeting-places when southern England was divided into hundreds, and a national council met at Thunderfield in Horley in the tenth century. The heathen sites in western Surrey, which seem remote upon the map, were close to places bearing very ancient names, such as Eashing and Godalming. No heathen names have so far been found in the deeper recesses of Arden or of the Sussex Weald, in central Essex, in Sherwood Forest, or in the east midland districts, once heavily wooded, which were known collectively as Bruneswald in the eleventh century.

At the present time, between fifty and sixty sites of heathen worship can be identified by means of local names. It is certain that the number will be increased by further investigation. Much of the best evidence for the existence of local cult-centres comes from field-names, and there are many counties in which this kind of material has not yet been adequately explored. Even so, the distribution of heathen sites which is indicated by work already done has a broad general pattern which is unlikely to be radically changed by future discoveries. With four or five exceptions, they are confined to the region which could be enclosed upon a map by lines drawn from Ipswich to Stafford and from Stafford to Weymouth. No local names pointing conclusively to heathen worship have so far been observed in Devon, Dorset, or Somerset; in the shires of the Welsh border; or beyond the Humber.[1] Such names are extremely

[1] The minute investigation undertaken by Professor Ekwall for his *Place-names of Lancashire* did not bring out any strictly heathen names in that county. It is possible that Harrowbank in Stanhope, county Dur-

rare in Lincolnshire, the eastern midlands, and East Anglia. It is by no means easy to estimate the historical significance of this distribution. Some of its most curious features, such as the rarity of heathen place-names in the regions of the earliest Anglian settlement, may be due in part to the scarcity of pre-Conquest documents from Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia, and to the obliteration of ancient local names by Scandinavian settlers. The extent to which such accidents account for the sparsity of heathen place-names in the east and north is one of the more interesting subsidiary problems of place-name study. What the extant series of such names establishes beyond all doubt is the strength of popular heathenism in the central midlands, the original Wessex, and the smaller kingdoms of the south-east.

The significance of some of these names has only been recognised in recent years. Place-names which contain the names of heathen gods have always interested historians. But less attention has been paid to the more numerous names which preserve the memory of cult-centres unconnected with the name of any particular divinity. The most familiar of these names are those which contain the word *hearh*, common in literary sources with the meaning of "idol" or "temple". It is applied by Ælfric to Moloch's image, and by king Alfred to the heathen temple at Goodmanham. In local names, it seems to have the more specialised meaning of "hill sanctuary". Among the place-names which contain the word, Harrowden in Northamptonshire, Harrowden in Bedfordshire, and Arrowfield Top in Worcestershire are obvious hill-sites; Harrowdown in North Essex is said to be the highest point in the neighbourhood, and the hill at Harrow dominates all central Middlesex. The hill-spur at Peperharow in Surrey is low in comparison with adjacent ground, but it rises sufficiently above the Wey

ham, contains the Old English word *hearh* (see below), but the earliest form of the name comes from the late fourteenth century, and it may have some other origin. In any case, it stands alone in Mawer's *Place-names of Northumberland and Durham*.

to bring the name within this definition. It is a more interesting point that in two place-names, the word *hearh* is preceded by the name of a folk or people to whom, presumably, the sanctuary in some special degree belonged. The original name of Harrow in Middlesex was *Gumeninga hearh*,[1] and the name must have meant the sanctuary of an otherwise unrecorded tribe called the *Gumeningas*. The second name of this type occurs in a charter by which Cædwalla king of Wessex gave a large property around Farnham in Surrey to three men for the foundation of a monastery.[2] The gift is said to have been made *in loco cuius vocabulum est Besinga hearh*. The name, which means the holy place of the *Besingas*, is never mentioned again, and there is no real clue to the position of the site. But this uncertainty does not affect the curious fact that one of the greatest ecclesiastical estates in England was first devoted to religious uses by an unbaptised king at what must very recently have been a tribal heathen sanctuary.

In German place-names, the word *harah*, the cognate of the English *hearh*, is very rare.[3] The element through which German heathenism has left the clearest impression on local nomenclature is *alah*, "temple" or "sacred enclosure", the equivalent of the Old English *alh* or *ealh*. In view of the frequency with which this word recurs in German place-names,[4] it is remarkable that only two clear examples, each of them from Kent, have so far been found in England.[5] One of them occurs in the name *Ealhfleot*,

[1] *Cart. Sax.*, 201, a contemporary text.

[2] *Ibid.*, 72 (a twelfth-century copy).

[3] Only three examples are given in Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*.

[4] As in Alahstat and Alahdorf, of which there are respectively four and three examples.

[5] It has been suggested that a third example may occur in a charter of Cynewulf King of Wessex relating to Bedwyn in Wiltshire, in which one of the boundary-points appears in the printed text (*Cart. Sax.*, 225) as *Puttan . . ealh*. The original has been damaged, but there is space for a division between two words and for a single letter between the *n* and the *e*, and there is no doubt that the name was really *Puttan healh*. It survives as the name of Puthall Farm in Little Bedwyn.

which was applied in the early ninth century to part if not the whole of the channel connecting Faversham with the sea.[1] The other occurs in *Ealhham*, the earliest form of the name of Alkham, four miles north-west of Dover. Unlike *hearh*, the element *ealh* was used as a basis for the formation of personal names, and it is sometimes uncertain whether a place-name which contains this element should be derived from the substantive *ealh* or from a short form of a personal name such as Ealhfrith or Ealhmund. In the absence of pre-Conquest forms, it is hard to decide whether the name of Alkborough, a village on a commanding site above the junction of the Trent and Humber, means the hill of a man named Ealha, or the hill marked by a heathen temple. Nevertheless, after all allowance for such uncertainties it is clear that *ealh* can never have been used at all generally in England as an element from which local names could be formed.

The most prominent, and in some ways the most interesting among the elements which reflect English heathenism is the word *weoh* or *wih*, of which traces have been found in more than twenty place- and field-names. Its importance has only become apparent during the last fifteen years, though in 1913 Professor Skeat suggested, very tentatively, that it might occur in the name of Wissett, Suffolk.[2] In literary texts, where the word is well-recorded, it has the meaning "idol" or "image". In the general sense of "holy object", it passed into Christian usage in the compounds *wigbed* and *weofod*, "altar". But the uncompounded word always refers to some device of heathenism, and its primitive associations are well brought out in the gnomic verse which states that "Woden worhte weos"—Woden made idols. In local names, it probably has the derivative sense of "shrine", or sacred precinct. The base

[1] The position of Ealhfleot is discussed by Dr. Gordon Ward in *Archæologia Cantiana*, xlvi. 123–32.

[2] W. W. Skeat, *The Place-names of Suffolk*, p. 85. Forms which have been discovered since 1913 show that derivation from *weoh* cannot be maintained in this particular case.

of the word seems to be a primitive Germanic adjective meaning "holy", and there are place-names which suggest that in Old English, as in other Germanic languages, this adjective may have survived into historic times.[1] The substantive *weoh* or *wih* is widely distributed over southern England in local names, and is generally compounded with words which are naturally appropriate to sites of heathen worship. In more than half the names into which it enters, it is associated either with *leah*, which in this context probably has its original sense of "grove", or with *dun*, that is, "hill". It is combined with *dun* in Weedon in Buckinghamshire, Weedon Beck and Weedon Lois in Northamptonshire, and *Wedone*, a medieval field-name in Damerham in Wiltshire; and with *leah* in *Welei* or *Wilei*, the eleventh-century name of a lost manor in north Hertfordshire, Weeley in Essex, Whyly in East Hoathly and Whiligh in Ticehurst in Sussex, Willey in Surrey, Wheely Down in south-east Hampshire, and Weoley in Worcestershire. It is compounded with other elements in Weeford on Watling Street in Staffordshire, *Weoland*, a field-name in Tockenham in Wiltshire, and probably Wyville in Kesteven.[2] It stands by itself in the Kentish place-name Wye, in the oldest forms of Weyhill in Hampshire, and in Wyham in Lindsey, where it appears in a dative plural form which presumably refers to a group of holy sites. It was clearly in use among Angles, Saxons, and Jutes alike, and the Wiltshire examples of the word show that new place-names were being formed from it after the middle of the sixth century.

Two examples of this element, in which, exceptionally, it occurs as the second part of a compound name, stand apart from the rest of the series. In each instance it is preceded by a personal name in the genitive case. One of these names, which survives locally in the form Patchway, denoted

[1] Ekwall, *Oxford dictionary*, p. 483. See below, pp. 14, 15.

[2] All the medieval forms of Wyville point to a compound of *wih* and *wella*, "stream" (Ekwall, *Oxford dictionary*, p. 516). The Domesday form *Huuelle*, which must be erroneous as it stands, is probably due to a misreading of *Wihuuelle* in the original returns.

a site some four miles north-east of Brighton, which is now, apparently, included in Stanmer Park. Early forms of the name, which can be traced back to the eighth century, show that it meant the *weoh* of a man named Paeccel. The second example is only known through the fact that Cædwalla of Wessex, when granting Farnham to men of religion, stated that an outlying property called *Cusan weoh* was annexed to that great estate. The site cannot be identified, but Cusa is a well-recorded personal name, and the Surrey *Cusan weoh* is evidently an exact parallel to the Sussex Patchway. The names are important, historically, because they suggest that some of the holy places of English heathenism may have been owned by individuals. The name of a man who was merely a ministering priest is unlikely to have become permanently attached to the altar at which he served. There is evidence from pagan Scandinavia to the effect that many temples were regarded as private property, yielding revenue to the heirs of the original founders. Here, as always, it is dangerous to argue from Scandinavian to English heathenism, but the names Patchway and *Cusan weoh* give at least the impression that the conception of the owned temple was familiar in pagan England.

Two other exceptional names belonging to this group seem to contain an inflected form of the adjective which is substantivised in the noun *weoh*. One of them occurs in a charter by which king Eadred grants three hides *æt Weonfelda* to a certain thegn.[1] Other local names mentioned in the charter show that the land lay a few miles south of Reading, but the exact site has not yet been determined.[2] It is highly probable that the name meant "at the sacred field", and referred to a piece of open ground among the woods by which the district was covered in early times. The second example of this rare adjective comes in a more interesting context. In his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae,*

[1] *Cart. Sax.*, 888.

[2] The name survived far into the thirteenth century in the form *Wenfeld* (Harl. MS. 1708, fo. 244).

Simeon of Durham records that in 937 king Athelstan defeated a great coalition of his enemies *apud Weondune, quod alio nomine Aetbrunnanwerc vel Brunnanbyrig appellatur*.[1] The reference is clearly to the battle of Brunanburh, and it would seem that Symeon was drawing on some source, presumably the ancient annals of his church, in which the site of the battle appeared under the alternative name *æt Weondune*.[2] If, as is probable, the name is a genuine relic of English heathenism, it tends to limit the region within which the great battle can have been fought. Heathen names in general, and names in *weoh* in particular, are rare in the western midlands, and none have so far been observed in Cheshire, Lancashire, or the counties farther north. The name which Symeon has preserved for the battle-site of 937 suggests that the enemy, who are known to have penetrated far into England, were engaged by Athelstan while they were still at a considerable distance from the western harbours where their ships lay.

There remain two place-names which raise the possibility that a collective name *Weohingas* or *Wihingas* may sometimes have been applied to the people living near an eminent sanctuary. Wingfield in Suffolk, which appears in twelfth-century Pipe Rolls in the form *Wihingefeld*,[3] is probably derived from such a name. A similar formation may well lie behind the difficult name Wing in Buckinghamshire. It is recorded in the tenth century in a form which shows that it represents a collective name ending in *-ingas* or *-ungas*.[4] Different scholars have proposed different interpretations of the name, and it is impossible to say definitely whether

[1] *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series), i. 76.

[2] In *The Battle of Brunanburh* (1938), p. 62, note 2, Mr. Alastair Campbell suggests that in view of the similarity of *n* and *r* in Old English script, *Weondune* may be a misreading of *Weordune*, a name referring to a site near the river Wear (O.E. *Weor*). But the historical objections to a site so far east for the battle are almost insuperable, and the Berkshire name *æt Weonfelda* shows that there is no linguistic difficulty in Simeon's *apud* (for *æt*) *Weondune*.

[3] Ekwall, *Oxford dictionary*, p. 499.

[4] Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon wills*, p. 20, *æt Weowungum*.

its original form was *Weohungas*, "temple people", or *Weohthuningas*, "Weohthun's people".[1] On the whole, the first explanation seems to raise fewer difficulties than the second, and Wing may at least provisionally be added to the list of place-names derived from *weoh*.[2]

It is through the discovery and interpretation of these names in *weoh* that recent place-name studies have made their chief contribution to the materials which illustrate English heathenism. In regard to the actual divinities of Old English worship, little has emerged except further traces of the local cult of familiar gods.[3] The most interesting of these new facts relates to the worship of the war-god *Tig*, whose name is preserved in Tuesday. It has long been recognised that his name is probably contained in the Surrey village name Tuesley, and in the boundary-names *Tislea* near Hannington in north Hampshire and *Tyesmere* near

[1] Derivation from *weoh* was first proposed by Dr. J. K. Wallenberg, *The Place-names of Kent*, p. 384. Derivation from Weohthun was suggested by Professor Ekwall, *Oxford dictionary*, p. 499. The one serious objection to the *weoh* explanation is the rarity of place-names ending in *-ungas*. The chief obstacles to derivation from Weohthun are the rarity of compound personal names in the series of place-names ending in *-ingas*, the lack of any adequate evidence for the combination *ht* in the recorded forms of Wing, and the early date at which, on this view, the name must have been reduced to a trisyllable.

[2] Dr. Wallenberg has suggested that the *weoh* from which the early inhabitants of Wing took their name was the sanctuary recorded in the name of Weedon near Aylesbury. The places are only five miles apart, but two separate temples may well have existed within a radius of this length. It is uncertain whether the name of Wingrave, a village between Wing and Weedon, means the grove of the Weohungas or the grove belonging to the village of Wing.

[3] In *Englische Studien*, lxx (1935), 57–9, Professor Ekwall has suggested that Fretherne in Gloucestershire, Fryup in Yorkshire, Freefolk, Frobury, and Froyle in Hampshire, may contain the name of the goddess *Freo*, preserved in the Old English *Frigedæg*, Friday. Unfortunately, none of these names occurs in any pre-Conquest document, and four out of the five are so imperfectly recorded that it is impossible to be certain about their original forms. *Frigefolc*, the Domesday spelling of Freefolk, is, no doubt, a good reproduction of an Old English form, but as Ekwall observes, the name may mean either the people of Freo or "the free people", and there is no way of deciding between these alternatives. Until fuller material comes to light, it would be unwise to draw any historical conclusions from these names.

Cofton Hacket in Worcestershire.[1] The recent demonstration that it also occurs in the name of Tysoe near Banbury [2] associates him with one of the most striking natural features of the southern midlands. Tysoe stands at the foot of the great escarpment which borders the plain of south Warwickshire. A number of clearly-cut spurs project from the line of this edge, and one of them was undoubtedly the *hoh* from which the settlement beneath the hill derived its name. The identification has a further interest in connexion with Sir William Dugdale's statement [3] that "Within the Precinct of that Mannour in *Tishoe*, now belonging to the Earl of *Northampton* . . . there is cut upon the side of *Edg-Hill* the Proportion of a *Horse* in a very large Forme; which, by Reason of the ruddy Colour of the Earth is called *The Red Horse*, and giveth Denomination to that fruitfull and pleasant Countrey thereabouts, commonly called *The Vale of Red Horse*". No earlier reference to this figure has yet been found, but the fact that certain lands in Tysoe were held by the service of scouring its outline points to its antiquity. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that a village named from a hill-spur sacred to Tig should have been overlooked by a figure symbolical of a god of battles.

The evidence for the worship of Thunor, the thunder-god, is considerable in amount, though curiously limited in distribution. His name is compounded with *feld* in Thunderfield in Surrey, and in *Thunresfeld*, the name of a boundary-point at Hardenhuish in Wiltshire. In at least six cases, it is combined with *leah*, which here again probably means "sacred grove". Two of these compounds occur in Essex—one near the Cambridgeshire border and the other near the Thames—two occur in Hampshire—one in the Meon valley and the other outside Southampton—one is

[1] Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (ed. Birch), i. 351. The medieval forms of Tuesley are discussed in *The Place-names of Surrey*, 200–1.

[2] Ekwall in *Englische Studien*, as above, pp. 55–7; *The Place-names of Warwickshire*, p. 284.

[3] Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire* (ed. 1765), p. 392.

a boundary-mark near Bexhill in Sussex, and one survives as the village-name Thursley in Surrey. Thundridge in Hertfordshire means Thunor's ridge; Thurstable, the name of an Essex hundred, means Thunor's pillar; and *Thunreslau*, which once gave name to another hundred in that county, means Thunor's *hlæw*, or mound. A second mound sacred to Thunor, which stood near Manston in Thanet, gave rise to what is perhaps the earliest of all the romantic stories engendered by place-names.[1] Before the end of the eleventh century, and probably before the death of Cnut, there was committed to writing a tale that the lands which formed the first endowment of the abbey of Minster in Thanet were given to the daughter of a king of Kent as wergild for the murder of her brother by a companion of the reigning king, named Thunor. It was agreed that the lady should receive as much land as her tame hind could run round at a single course, and Thunor, protesting as the course drew out to a place which the writer of the story calls *Thunores hlæw*, was immediately swallowed up by the opening earth. In course of time, the story received much embellishment. Through a misreading of Old English script, *Thunores hlæw* became Thunor's "leap", and the site of his disappearance was then identified with a depression in the ground, called Thunor's pit in the fifteenth century, which is still discernible by air-photography.[2] But the story in its oldest form proves that there once existed a mound called *Thunores hlæw* in Thanet, and this in turn proves the specific worship of Thunor among the Jutes of Kent. The boundary-name *Thunreslea* near Southampton shows that he had been thus honoured among the Jutes opposite to the Isle of Wight, and there is abundant evidence for his cult among the South, West, and East Saxons. In Anglian territory, the traces of his worship are few, and somewhat ambiguous. In north

[1] Ed. Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, iii. 422–8, from Cott. Caligula A xiv. The story is generally quoted from the twelfth-century version given by Simeon of Durham (*Opera*, ed. T. Arnold in Rolls Series, ii. 4–12).

[2] The fifteenth-century form of the story is set out by O. G. S. Crawford in *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 92 *seqq.*, where the site is identified.

Oxfordshire, where the waves of Saxon and Anglian expansion seem to have met, the name Tusmore probably represents an original *Thunres mere*, "Thunor's pool",[1] and in Rutland, the pre-Conquest stream-name *Thures lege broc*[2] may well contain an Anglian example of the familiar compound *Thunres leah*. But neither of these examples is quite conclusive,[3] and the poverty of the local evidence for the worship of Thunor among the Anglian peoples remains one of the strangest anomalies brought out by recent place-name research.

It is not surprising that place-names containing the name of Woden occur in the territory of each of the three peoples which, according to Bede, composed the English nation. His cult among the Jutes of Kent is illustrated by the names of Woodnesborough near Sandwich, within four miles of the sea, and Wornshill on the eastern side of the Downs between Maidstone and Faversham.[4] In Essex, where his cult has left no surviving trace, Dr. Reaney has discovered two medieval field-names which clearly represent it—*Wodnesfeld* in Widdington, which must have been within five miles of the north Essex Thunderley in Wimbish, and *Wedynsfeld* in Theydon, on the eastern side of Epping Forest. In Wiltshire, one of the valleys which come down from the south towards the Kennet between Overton and Marlborough was called *Wodnes denu* in the tenth century, and the

[1] *Toresmere*, Domesday Book; *Turesmere c.* 1130, Salter, *Oxford charters; Thuresmere*, 1220, *Book of fees*. The form *Tyresmere* which occurs in a Charter Roll of 1267, and suggests derivation from *thyrs*, "giant", comes from an *Inspeximus* of the charter of *c.* 1130 quoted above. It is merely a bad copy of *Turesmere* in that document, and has no authority.

[2] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, 784, in the boundaries of Ayston, near Uppingham.

[3] Although each of these names is preserved in an eleventh-century form, neither of them shows the *n* which is usual in compounds of Thunor. Its absence is probably due to an early loss of *n* before *r*, such as has occurred in *Thurres dæg* for *Thunres dæg* in an early manuscript of Ælfric's Homilies. But there is a possibility, though not, perhaps, a very strong one, that the Rutland name may be a hybrid compound containing the Anglo-Danish personal name *Thur*.

[4] Wallenberg, *The Place-names of Kent*, p. 240.

tumulus now known as Adam's Grave above the vale of Pewsey appears as *Wodnes beorg* a hundred years earlier. The valley and the barrow are less than four miles apart; the famous earthwork once known as *Wodnes dic*, and now as Wansdyke, runs between them; and it is probable that their names denoted different parts of a single great sanctuary dedicated to Woden. Another sanctuary of about the same extent is probably indicated by the names Wednesbury and Wednesfield in Staffordshire. The places are some four miles apart in the centre of Mercia, on rising ground above the head-waters of the Tame. To the north of Mercia, Wensley in the Peak of Derbyshire derives its name from a *leah* sacred to Woden, and to the south-east, in Middle Anglia, his *hlæw*, or mound, marked the site which afterwards gave name to the hundred of *Wodneslawe* in Bedfordshire. It is evident that there must have been a strong basis of popular feeling beneath the aristocratic convention which regarded Woden as the ancestor of most English kings.

The popular element in the cult of Woden is brought out, not only by the names of sites at which he was worshipped, but also by an early tendency to associate his name with great earthworks of forgotten origin. So far as is known, Woden is the only god to whom the Anglo-Saxon imagination attributed the making of dykes or banks. The name Wansdyke shows that he was regarded as the maker of the greatest linear fortification in southern Britain.[1] The evidence for this conception of Woden is stronger than would be gathered from the surface of the modern map. In 1902, in a footnote to one of his finest articles, W. H. Stevenson observed: "If there were any evidence that Woden was also known among the pagan English as Grim, as he was among the Norsemen, we might conclude that

[1] A *Wodnes dic* which has sometimes been regarded as a second example of this name occurs in *Cart. Sax.*, 1257, among the boundaries of a place named *Cliftun* near a river Avon, identified by Kemble and Birch with Clifton near Bristol. But other names in the boundaries show that the property was situated immediately to the south of Bath, and the *Wodnes dic* of the charter is clearly the great West Saxon Wansdyke.

'Grimes-dic' was merely the equivalent of 'Wodnes-dic'. The Devil's Dyke, occasionally met with as the name of ditches, may be compared. The works were considered as superhuman." [1] No direct proof that Woden was known in England under the by-name Grim is ever likely to be forthcoming, but Professor Ekwall has recently set out a case for the identification which carries it to a high degree of probability.[2] There can, in fact, be little doubt that the dyke through Grovely Wood in Wiltshire, which is recorded as *Grimes dic* in the tenth century,[3] was believed to be the work of Woden, and it is probable that most of the many earthworks which bore this name in the Middle Ages derived it from the same belief.[4] There seem to be other traces of the same alias in the name *Grimes wrosen*, of which three examples have so far been noted—one in Essex, outside Colchester; another in Warwickshire on Watling Street; and a third near Credenhill in Herefordshire.[5] The Old English *wrāsn* meant primarily "that which is twisted", and it is impossible to be sure of the sense in which the word was used in these three names.[6] The Warwickshire site has not yet been precisely identified; the Herefordshire name probably refers to the conspicuous hill beneath which Credenhill stands; and the Essex *Grimes wrosen* is one among a complex of ancient dykes. In any case, whether the name denoted a dyke which Woden was believed to have made or a hill where he was felt to be immanent, it clearly represents him as a figure of myth rather than an object of worship.

For all the work that has been done upon the earlier

[1] *English Historical Review*, xvii. 629.

[2] *Studia Germanica tillägnade Ernst Albin Kock* (Lund, 1934), pp. 41–4.

[3] *Place-names of Wiltshire*, pp. 15, 16.

[4] *e.g.* Grim's Ditch in Wychwood Forest and Grim's Ditch between the Thames at Mongewell and the Chilterns, each of which is mentioned in the thirteenth century.

[5] *Place-names of Essex*, pp. 374–6.

[6] The clearest illustration of the meaning of *wrāsn* in local names is the great upthrust of Silurian limestone near Dudley called the Wren's Nest, which appears as *la wrosne* in the thirteenth century.

strata of English place-names, it is possible that further traces of primitive heathenism may still lurk in unsuspected quarters. Professor Dickins has suggested that some of the numerous places named, without any obvious reason, from the head of a particular animal may have been sites at which heathen sacrifices were offered—that, for example, the name Gateshead, which Bede interprets by the phrase *ad capræ caput*, may have arisen from a heathen ritual centred around the head of a sacrificed goat.[1] There is direct evidence for the existence of such a custom among the heathen Lombards. Several of these names may, no doubt, refer to a resemblance between some natural feature and an animal's head. In other cases, head may mean "headland" and the names may denote sites where wild animals of a certain kind were often seen. But there is a residue which cannot easily be explained along these lines, and it is especially hard to find a topographical explanation for the two most interesting names of the series—the Bedfordshire hundred-name Manshead, and the *Mannesheved* which occurs as a field-name in the thirteenth century at Hawton in Nottinghamshire.[2] The possibility that these two names may preserve a memory of human sacrifice deserves to be considered in any general survey of English heathenism.

But whatever may be the final interpretation of these difficult names, there can be no doubt of the vitality of the ancient religion in at least the centre, the south, and the south-east of England. Despite all the forces which have made for the distortion or obliteration of heathen place-names, the number that can still be traced is significantly large. For fifty miles on either side of the Thames from Cricklade to Foulness, few places are much more than twenty

[1] *The Place-names of Surrey* (1934), Appendix I, where many German parallels are quoted.

[2] The overwhelming preponderance of forms with *a* in the first syllable is a serious obstacle to Dr. Anderson's suggested derivation of Manshead from an Old English *gemænnessheafod*, "head of the common". *English hundred-names*, iii. 22, 3.

miles from a known site of heathen worship.[1] The identification of these sites is a work of much more than antiquarian interest, for it makes possible a new estimate of the strength of the popular resistance to Augustine and his colleagues of the first Roman mission. Their personal weaknesses, which historians have often emphasised, no doubt explain, in part, the limited scope and the insecurity of their work. On the other hand, they were labouring in a country where the sanctuaries of a living heathenism were so numerous that after thirteen hundred years, something of its general character can be recovered from the surviving names of these holy sites. Five undoubted places of heathen worship can still be identified within a radius of twelve miles from Augustine's church of Canterbury. Of the districts adjacent to Kent, Sussex, the last part of England to become Christian, naturally contains a well-marked group of heathen place-names; Surrey, or at least the Wey valley, was not unfittingly described by Kemble as "a very pantheon of paganism"; and Essex, on place-name evidence, can fairly be called the most strongly heathen of English kingdoms. It is not surprising that the conversion of these regions advanced by generations rather than by decades.

These facts inevitably raise the question whether the absence or the extreme rarity of heathen place-names in Northumbria may not, after all, correspond to a difference of popular feeling in regard to the traditional religion. When all allowance has been made for the disappearance of heathen names, and for the existence of temples which, like that at Goodmanham, have left no trace in local nomenclature, the suspicion remains that paganism may have been less firmly rooted in the north than in the south. It would be unwise to infer a state of general indifferentism from the Northumbrian peasant's readiness to adopt a new religion championed by his king. There were mass baptisms in Kent as well as in Northumbria. But the famous debate

[1] The chief gaps in the distribution of these sites occur in the south and south-west of Oxfordshire and the north of Berkshire.

of 627 in the council of king Edwin shows that in Northumbria, an aristocracy which cannot have differed much from the body of the nation in its attitude towards the supernatural, had gone far towards the abandonment of traditional beliefs by the second quarter of the seventh century.[1] There was amazement, but no uprush of anger among the common people when the chief of the Northumbrian priests ostentatiously profaned the temple at Goodmanham. Even with the king's support, it would have been very unsafe for a man of the priestly order thus to affront the gods in contemporary Wessex, Sussex, Essex, or Mercia.

[1] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii. 13.

HEATHEN PLACE-NAMES IN ENGLAND

Note: Unidentified names are given in the form of the oldest MS. and *italicised*.

EARLY ENGLISH AND GALLIC MINSTERS

By Miss M. Deanesly, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 9 May 1940

It would be commonly agreed that the history of the earliest minsters is obscure, or relatively obscure. There is no English Gregory of Tours: and we do not know as much about the life and foundations of archbishop Theodore of Canterbury as we do about those of his contemporary, bishop Ouen of Rouen. It is hoped, however, that it may be possible in this paper to throw some light on the nature of the early English minsters by considering them against the background of Gallic and Celtic practice at the date, while retaining firmly in the mind the contemporary meaning of certain ecclesiastical terms, as against their later, developed use. A point of main interest about these early minsters is the use of the term *mynstru, monasteria,* for the dwellings of clerks as well as of monks, and the approximation of the function of the two classes of foundation. Put in another way, it is of interest to know whether the minsters of monks and nuns ever had a *parochia,* like that of the mother churches of the Continent. Minster and parish: they are the two critical words. With reference to this subject, I wish to consider, first, the reason for the lack of original charter evidence about the earliest English minsters, secondly, the sixth- and seventh-century use of certain terms, thirdly, the position of the Kentish minsters, Thanet, Lyminge, and the rest; and lastly—something that seems to me the clue to the history of the minsters in the seventh century—the efforts of bishops to equate minsters of ascetics with minsters of clerks, and treat them, as bishop Maroveus

of Poitiers said to St. Radegund's successor, " like their other parishes."

First, then, about the lack of original charter evidence about the earliest English minsters: all Frankish documents in the sixth and greater part of the seventh centuries (*instrumenta chartarum*, they were called) were written on papyrus; and papyrus is a fragile material, for individual separate records, compared to parchment. If English written documents were made during that period, they must have been written on papyrus too. There are some ninety authentic extant Merovingian diplomas, of which about thirty-seven are originals. The earliest are all on papyrus. Parchment began to be used for written grants in Gaul about 670: the oldest extant parchment grant we possess is one of 671: the earliest Merovingian royal diploma on parchment is of 677.[1] As regards Frankish royal diplomas, the turnover from papyrus to parchment comes sharply near the year 670: there was no period of concurrent use. The last papyrus royal diploma is of the year 673: after that, parchment was used continuously, although occasional papyrus non-royal grants occur as late as 787, and although the papal chancery (most unfortunately from the point of view of record) went on using papyrus till the eleventh century. It is safe, however, to say that the written documents of the Kentish kings and bishops must have been on papyrus for three-quarters of a century after the arrival of Augustine, because nothing else was used (except away in remote Ireland, by the Celts).

This sudden turnover from papyrus to parchment is of considerable interest. I suppose we may reckon it as the one good deed Mahomet and his followers did, that they captured the trade of the east Mediterranean and cut off supplies of papyrus from Egypt. The Franks then had to begin using goatskin and sheepskin for records: much dearer stuff, so that they used very much smaller sheets,

[1] See Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894), pp. 706, 495; for papyrus bulls, R. Lane Poole, *History of the papal chancery* (1915), p. 37.

but of infinitely smoother surface than the ribbed sheets of papyrus. They could now use a reed or quill pen instead of one with a single "stylographic" point; they could make a difference between thick strokes and thin strokes, they could begin to write beautifully. The change from the ugly Merovingian cursive to the beautiful Carolingian hand was conditioned by the substitution of parchment for papyrus as a writing surface. But the greater durability of parchment was of the highest importance for record.

Papyrus, as you may see in facsimiles of the earliest Merovingian diplomas,[1] and, indeed, any others, is a very friable material. You cannot read through, for instance, the descriptions of the Greek papyri in the British Museum, some of which are contemporary with the Merovingian diplomas, without being struck with the large number that are incomplete at one or both ends and marred by *lacunae* throughout.[2] "A few scattered words," say Lauer and Samaran of a Merovingian diploma, "are all that remain of this document: they suffice to show that it was a diploma, but they are too scattered for it to be possible to tell what was the meaning of the document." Papyrus withstands decay well enough in an air-tight Egyptian sarcophagus, or if bound flat in codex or book form. But records on large sheets, kept rolled in the sixth century in the wooden boxes of libraries or episcopal archives, even these were liable to decay, especially at the ends of the roll and through damp: while they were peculiarly difficult to save in any crisis. They were liable to tear through creasing, the papyrus rotted with water, and the gum of the ink used

[1] Cf. *Les diplômes originaux des Mérovingiens: facsimilés phototypiques*, in the authoritative edition of MM. Lauer and Samaran (Paris, 1908), and the facsimiles in A. Letronne, *Diplomata et chartae Merovingicae aetatis* (Paris, undated).

[2] Cf. F. G. Kenyon, *Greek papyri in the British Museum* (1893); for extant Merovingian papyri, K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 29; for Gregory I's papyrus register, *ibid.*, p. 33. The letters of Gregory to St. Augustine, important as they were, had perished before the time of Bede: transcripts of them were rediscovered by an English monk who searched Gregory's register on his behalf.

(which was only charcoal and gum) became dissolved in the rain. They must have been very difficult to salve from a monastery in a Viking raid, especially as the more solemn the grant, the larger the sheet of papyrus on which it was enrolled.

Indeed it appears that when papyrus first began to be used in codex rather than in roll form, it was for two reasons, one of which was for safety and convenience in travel, and the other, for economy. If, for economy's sake, it were necessary to write on both sides of the papyrus, it was easier to read a book whose leaves were written on both sides than a long roll written on both sides.[1] Nevertheless, to write on both sides of papyrus was regarded as a cheap and nasty expedient, because it involved writing on the second side with the ribs of the material vertical, instead of horizontal. In making the papyrus, two sheets were laid one on the other and pressed together with the ribs running opposite ways, and it was easier and normal to write on the side with the ribs horizontal only. Hence important documents like grants and letters and privileges continued to be written on rolls, often large ones, and on only one side. The Greek will of an eighth-century Coptic bishop, for instance, was written on a sheet of papyrus 3 feet 8 inches wide by 1 foot 2 inches deep. It was written in one wide column across the width of the sheet [2]; and some Merovingian royal diplomas are two or three feet wide [3] and perhaps a foot deep. There are allusions in Gregory of Tours' works to such papyri, held out for exhibition across the breast of a *puer* of a bishop or a notary of a count of the palace. If king Aethelberht of Kent made a written *cessio* of the land on the *fundus* of the old heathen fane at

[1] See C. H. Roberts on "The ancient book," in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, July 1939, pp. 256–7.

[2] Kenyon, *op. cit.*, I, no. lxxvii; and cf. II, no. cxli.

[3] Cf. Letronne, tab. vi, an immunity issued by Dado as referendary to St. Denis c. 637: printed in Tardif, *Cartons de rois* (Paris, 1866), no. 8. Letronne's tab. ix (Tardif, no. 10), a diploma of c. 653, is some three feet wide.

Canterbury for the foundation of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, it would have been on papyrus and not patient of preservation. In the event of a raid, and the Kentish minsters, Christ Church, St. Augustine's, Sheppey, Thanet, and the rest, were in fact sacked by the Danes, it must have been very difficult to save a document of this description, much more difficult than a parchment diploma. The minster of Saint Denis, the archives of the kings and bishops of Paris, just saved from Danish raids, managed to preserve some of their papyrus records: the minsters of Kent, for the most part, did not. Sheppey and Thanet and Lyminge and Reculver perished with their records. I cannot, however, myself doubt, from the evidence of the regular use of written grants in the pages of Gregory of Tours; from the existence of old formula books in Gaul providing for the written records of comparatively common actions like the *cessio* or grant by which a man endowed his wife or freed a slave [1]; from the fact that all monks made a written formula of their profession; that all clerks were required to produce written evidence of their ordination to the successor of the bishop who ordained them; from the fact that Aethelberht's laws were written down in his own day; from certain evidence that goes to show that a charter of Aethelberht to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, long regarded as questionable, incorporates passages from an original in a Merovingian hand—from all this, I cannot myself doubt that written *instrumenta chartarum* were issued by king Aethelberht, and, in all probability, by later kings of Kent, to the minsters they founded. But we have no surviving originals, on papyrus. I think it not accidental that the first Anglo-Saxon charters long regarded as genuine occur near the date when the Franks were turning over from papyrus to parchment in Gaul. The earliest English charter selected by Dr. Hubert Hall

[1] See the collection of formula books ed. by K. Zeumer in M.G.H., *Legum*, sect. v. 1–165 [henceforth, Zeumer]. For the dating of the *Formulae Marculfi*, see appendix.

for printing in his formula book dates from 704, and the earliest in the *Crawford Collection* of Napier and Stevenson is of A.D. 739. The early charters, of great interest, attested by Miss Gibbs and Professor Stenton from an old charter roll of St. Paul's,[1] London, go back also to c. 704. Professor Stenton, in *Medehamstede and its colonies*,[2] gives the earliest extant English landbook as of the year 679, and the earliest which has survived in copy only as of 673 or 675. None of these grants is so early in date that it must be assumed that their originals were on papyrus, and it is of interest to find their dating coinciding so closely with the earliest Frankish parchment diploma, of 671.

Professor Stenton's important defence of certain early accounts of the foundation of colonies, cells, to Medehamstede, and of certain elements in the privilege of pope Agatho for Woking and Bermondsey, accords well with the probability that the originals of these documents were on papyrus ; the papal privilege would certainly have been. It seems evident that a later scribe dealing with a papyrus document would find it much more imperfect than a parchment one, and especially at either end. The criterion of such copies of papyrus originals, it would seem, should be internal congruity, as it is for Professor Stenton, and as it is for M. Levillain in his studies of the history of the abbey of St. Denis near Paris [3] ; anachronisms inserted by the later scribe may, with some fairness, be attributed to an effort to fill gaps, or incorporate information on very scrappy old material.

Then, secondly, about some sixth- and seventh-century ecclesiastical terms.

Paroikia, parochia, parish, is a very old, pre-Constantinian term for the sphere of a bishop's authority round his house-church. It never had a civil connotation. It goes

[1] M. Gibbs, ed., *Early charters of the cathedral church of St. Paul* (Camden third series, vol. lvii, 1939).

[2] In *Historical essays in honour of James Tait*, p. 313, n. 2.

[3] See appendix, p. 58.

back to the Greek-speaking days of the Church in Rome, before the edict of Milan, when Christians used for the Eucharist the *schola* of some rhetor,[1] a cemetery chapel, or, more often, the hall of some inward-looking Roman house. Before 313 the only specially built "churches" were in Mesopotamia, a border district between the Roman and Persian empires not much affected by persecution. Round this *oikos*-church the bishop had his sphere of authority, his *paroikia*: it was to such a church that the antiphon of the old office of St. Cecilia refers, when it repeats her words to the prefect after her arrest:

> A truce of three days I have asked of the Lord, that I might consecrate my house to be a church.[2]

When the Church came up out of the catacombs after the edict of Milan, and could build herself specially designed churches, she either copied the small square or circular planned churches of Mesopotamia, with their domed roofs,[3] or, for larger churches, she copied the old open, colonnaded basilicas or markets, enclosing them with walls, and adding the semi-circular apse from the rhetor's *schola* for the celebration of the mysteries. The bishop's church after 313, the actual building where he set his *cathedra*, was a basilica. But the sphere of his authority was, as before, a *parochia*. In the time of Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours and much later, the *parochia* was pre-eminently and almost exclusively the sphere of authority of the bishop. There were, however, urban non-episcopal churches in Italy and the Rhone valley from the sixth century, and non-episcopal rural parishes in Gaul from a little later.

As to diocese: that was a word of secular derivation, implying both in its secular use and its first use in the Church a partial, subordinate sphere of authority. Under

[1] Baldwin Brown, *From schola to cathedral* (Edinburgh, 1886).

[2] 22 Nov., *Triduanas a Domino poposci, ut domum meam ecclesiam consecrarem.*

[3] See J. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa* (2 vols., Vienna, 1918).

Diocletian and Constantine the Roman Empire was divided into four prefectures and twelve dioceses, the ruler of each diocese being the vicar of the praetorian prefect. In Gregory the Great's time there was still a secular vicar for the diocese of Italy and a *vicarius in urbe Romae*. In ecclesiastical usage in his pontificate, and later, a diocese was an outlying, rural part of a bishop's *parochia*, served by a chapel or oratory, or, in the seventh century, a basilica. There are several references in Gregory of Tours' works to bishops who "go riding through their dioceses." [1] When sixth- and seventh-century councils laid down that a diocese claimed and worked by a bishop for thirty years could not be reclaimed by another bishop on the ground of prior possession, they were referring to these outlying rural districts, such as might, in fact, often be in dispute between the bounds of the territory of two bishops. The council of Agaunum, 517, speaks of a "presbyter who holds a diocese." [2] It was in this early sense of the word diocese that Leo III wrote in 802 to Coenwulf, king of the Mercians, and bade him do archbishop Aethelheard right about his dioceses, as well those of bishops as those of minsters (*monasteriorum*), of which he had been unlawfully despoiled.[3] This refers, of course, primarily to the restoration of Aethelheard's metropolitan rights over the Mercian see of Lichfield; but the wording suggests that, canonically, the dioceses of Mercia are outlying rural districts of the see of Canterbury. Lichfield is once described as a "see set in a monastery, or minster," and some of the other Mercian sees

[1] Cf. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio*, ix. 838, for council of Braga, 572, c. 1. *Placuit ut nullus episcoporum cum per dioceses suas ambulat*; and for council of Toledo, 633, c. xxxvi, *ibid.*, x. 629: *Episcopum per cunctos dioeceses parochiasque per singulos annos ire oportet.*

[2] See M.G.H., *Legum*, sect. iii, tom. 1, *Conc. Aevi Merov.*, ed. Maassen (henceforth, Maassen), 21, c. viii: when a priest holds a diocese, a written record is to be made in the name of the church of those things which he buys.

[3] Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, henceforth H.S., iii. 539: *De vero Aethelardo iam facto archiepiscopo Doroverniensis ecclesiae . . . ut ei iustitiam faceremus de ipsis diocesibus, tam episcoporum quam monasteriorum*; Birch, *Cart. Sax.* (henceforth B.C.S.), i. 426.

were also "dioceses of monasteries." But not only the dioceses of Mercian minsters were in dispute, but some southern ones as well. The minster of Cookham (a nunnery) had been in dispute between the Mercian king and the archbishop of Canterbury, as the minster of Thanet was shortly after.[1] Lyminge too, at the date, might have been spoken of as having a "diocese," since its clerical *familia* served not only the nunnery but the countryside; an Anglo-Saxon endorsement of a grant to the basilica of St. Mary at Lyminge runs: "the Romney people (Rumeningseta) belong to Lyminge minster." [2] In any case, the words of Leo III's grant prove that "diocese" was used of the sphere or parish of non-episcopal minsters at the date.

The sixth and seventh centuries are, however, the centuries proper when diocese in the west has the sense of a subordinate sphere of a bishop's jurisdiction out in the country, excluding his *civitas*, where he normally set his *cathedra*. It then means regularly an area that can be served by a monastic *familia* (so long as that *familia* includes at least a clerk in holy orders) or a clerical *familia* under an archpriest, or priest. In a canon of the council of Orleans, 538, the rule of "monasteries, diocese, and basilicas" are regarded as equally suitable spheres of work for a clerk of the bishop's *familia* who gets promotion [3]: he has been trained to clerkship in the bishop's *familia*, to the pastoral office, and he is now fit to preside over a *familia* dwelling canonically in a minster and serving the laity living round them, or over the people of a rural diocese, or over the

[1] H.S., iii. 513; B.C.S., i, no. 291; *Camb. Med. Hist.*, iii. 343.

[2] B.C.S., no. 98.

[3] Maassen, 79, c. xxi: *De his vero clericorum personis, quae de civitatensis ecclesiae officio monastiria, deiocesis vel basilicas in quibuscumque locis positas, id est sive in territoriis, deiocesis sive in ipsis civitatibus suscipiunt ordinandas, in potestate sit episcopi, si de id quod ante de ecclesiastico munere habebant, eos aliquid aut nihil exinde habere voluerit, quia unicuique facultas suscepti monasterii, deiocesis vel basilicae debet plena ratione sufficere.* Cf. E. Lesne, *Hist. de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, i. 65, n. 2: henceforth, Lesne, *Prop. ec.*

basilica of a small town, a *vicus*, or a subordinate basilica of his own *civitas*. But, says the canon, he ought no longer to need his stipend from the *familia* of the *civitas*; the endowment of the monastery or diocese or basilica ought, by open account, to be sufficient. Again, the council of Orleans of 541 laid down that if any one [bishop or lay lord] either has or asks to have a diocese [a rural church] on his land, first let him appoint sufficient land for it.[1] When Augustine ruled the English Church from Canterbury, and when Theodore possessed the see after him, the *parochia* was the sphere of the bishop's authority and the diocese an outlying district in his territory.

On the continent, it was not the only name for such a district: by 600, *parochia* was used of the sphere of any non-episcopal rural church with the right to baptize, and not only of such. If the question is asked: "Who, at the beginning of the seventh century, may be said to have a *parochia*?" the answer would have to be:

A bishop has a *parochia*; sometimes it is said that the bishop and his *familia* have a *parochia*.

Minsters of clerks, either living canonically, communally, or living under an archpriest and receiving stipends, have a *parochia*.[2] So does the presbyter of a *basilica*, commonly.

Celtic abbots, in Brittany or Cornwall or Wales, have a *parochia* in a threefold sense. They have a *parochia* over the monks of their monastery, and over the small monasteries subject to it; they have a *parochia* over the whole *plebs* they rule, the tribe or population for which they are responsible; and they have small, local parishes subject

[1] Maassen, 94, c. 33; Loening, *Kirchenrecht*, ii. 636, n. 3. Cf. also Vacandard, *Vie de Saint Ouen, 641–684* (Paris, 1902), p. 128; Hefele and Leclercq, *Hist. des conc.*, 3. 1. 271–3, and Mansi, x. 628, c. xxxiii, for the council of Toledo, 633. Cf. also, the chapter on the Merovingian Church in Lot and Pfister, *Hist. du Moyen Age*, i. c. xiii.

[2] Cf. canons vii, xx, xxv, of the council of Tours, 567: Maassen, pp. 124–34; and Vacandard, p. 127; for early Gallic monasteries, Lot and Pfister, i. 336.

to them, small local centres of population where the founder, or some brother, has originally preached.[1]

While Celtic practice no doubt influenced the monastic foundations of Chad and Cedd and the Northumbrian kings, it is rather to Gallic, Frankish analogies that one should look for light on the early minsters of Kent and their parishes. On the continent, at the beginning of the seventh century, a single priest is found ruling a parish only where Christianity is very long established; but in the north of Gaul, where Christianity is younger, there are a few non-episcopal parishes, where the clergy either live communally in a *monasterium*,[2] or have stipends and live separately round the church. But there were a far larger number of country chapels and oratories with no parish, served by some clerk who, like the one described in the council of Vaison, 529, "being priest or deacon, is not reckoned a canon within the city or in the parishes, but lives in a vill and, saying the divine office in an oratory, celebrates the divine mysteries."

[1] L. Gougaud, *Les chrétientés celtiques* (Paris, 1911), p. 122; F. Lot, *Mélanges d'hist. bretonne* (1907), p. 24, n. 1, for the monastic diocese of Dol, and its parishes or cells, enclaves in 5 other sees. For the continuance of these monastic sees as late as the ninth century, see Gougaud, p. 122, when the bishop of Aleth is sometimes called *episcopus Aletensis*, sometimes *episcopus in Poutrocoet* (the monastery). For the Irish monastic parishes (fairche = parochia), see Gougaud, pp. 215–17; Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite life of St. Patrick*, p. clxxxiii, and, for the Irish equivalents of bishop, archipresbyter, priest, archdeacon, etc., p. clxxx. For the *parochia* in the lives of the early Irish saints, see the introduction to C. Plummer, *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), and especially the passage, p. xcv, that these lives "belong to a period when the nomad stage is not wholly over, or at least not wholly forgotten," whence Church organisation was necessarily based on personal rather than territorial units, was tribal and personal rather than local. This personal, non-territorial sphere of a bishop's rule is not peculiar to Celtic usage: St. Bonnet of Clermont at the end of the seventh century referred to his successor as "plebis rector et patriae tutor": Vacandard, p. 116, n. 2. For some recent information about early Welsh monasteries, especially Holyhead (founded by St. Cybi, c. 540) and Penmon, see *An inventory of the anc. mons. in Anglesey* (published by H.M. Stationery Office, 1937), p. xci.

[2] The council of Tours, 567, c. xix, (Maassen, 127) deals with *archipresbyteri vicani. Archipresbyter, seu in vico manserit, seu ad villam suam ambulaverit, unus lector canonicorum suorum aut certe aliquis de numero clericorum suorum cum illo ambulet.*

He and his people must come to the *civitas* on all great feasts ; he has no parish.

Then, as to the terms monastery (in England, *mynster*) and abbot. Monastery is simply the enclosure within which a *familia* of clerks or of ascetics lives. A monastery might have within it, besides the domestic buildings, a single oratory, or a large church described as a *basilica*, or a *basilica* and two or three chapels. Even the seven deaconries in Rome, centres of relief for the poor administered by a deacon and a few lesser clerks, were said to have monasteries. Pope Benedict II (684–5) speaks of " the monasteries of the deaconries." Emil Lesne [1] has well expressed the difference in character between a monastery of clerks and one of ascetics [monks] as one of intention : monasteries of clerks were founded with special relation to some agglomeration of population, while monasteries of ascetics were not. The clerical minster was founded to serve some *castrum* (or walled town), *castellum* (or smaller walled town), *vicus* (or unwalled hamlet), or *villa* (the privately owned estate of king, bishop or lay lord). The monastery of ascetics on the other hand was located by its founder at will, either in some wild spot chosen for retirement, or because the site of the monastery had been given to him, as Monte Cassino to St. Benedict. Monks might, or might not, be clerks ; they might, or might not, follow some known rule ; but they existed primarily for contemplation, without reference to the surrounding population, or lack of it.

But, once founded, the life and work within a minster of clerks did not differ so greatly from those of a minster of monks, properly so called. Both communities lived communally within the minster, though the higher members of a clerical community, as time went on, tended to have separate houses or cells within it. Both said the canonical hours in the oratory ; and the hours in the bishop's church or a clerical minster did not yet differ from the divine

[1] *Prop. ec.*, i. 80.

office of the monks. Both probably lived a hard and somewhat hungry life, because conditions were hard for all. Again, the laity attended vigils and mass in the churches of monasteries of both types [1]; and in missionary districts, like Britain and northern Gaul, were baptized by the monks. The right of monastic churches to baptize, at Easter and Pentecost, was a disputed point; Gregory the Great, a defender of monastic separation and privilege, in one case forbade it [2]; but the fact that some later Frankish councils forbade it indicates that the right must, in some cases, have been claimed.[3] Moreover, the clause found in many seventh-century episcopal privileges to monasteries, that the bishop shall grant the chrism to the abbot without price, would seem to imply that the chrism would be needed for baptisms,[4] though also for the anointing of the sick. The difficulty over monastic baptisms may have been the question of the baptism of women, but it was much more probably fiscal and jurisdictional. When great monasteries of monks first obtained privileges from bishops, they often obtained as a major concession the right to be given the chrism without payment, while lesser monasteries had to pay an *exsenium* for it.

"Abbot," again, in the sixth and seventh centuries, had more than one meaning: it was a title of general respect, used of a spiritual person of rank, the head of a community of either monks or clerks living the communal life. Emil Lesne holds that it could be used of any senior member

[1] Lesne, *Prop. ec.*, i. 55.

[2] See Mansi, ix. 1149: *De auferendo baptisterio de monasterio monachorum.*

[3] See Maassen, 194, c. vi (of a council held after that of Paris, 614): *ut intra septa monasterii non baptizetur . . . me forsitan permissione pontificis.*

[4] See Lesne, *Prop. ec.*, i. 67, n. 4. The common clause about the bestowal of the chrism without price seems on a par with a clause in the testament of the deacon Grimo, who in 624 transferred "his church" of Tholey, in the diocese of Treves, to that of Verdun: the church was to owe its original mother church of Treves nothing but an *exsenium* (money payment) for the chrism "for baptizing."

of the bishop's *familia*. M. Levillain points out [1] that while this is true, such an *abbas* would have a *familia*, a body of clerks, of his own, under him, as, for instance, an archipresbyter, an archdeacon, or even the presbyter of an urban or rural basilica. An *abbas*, in fact, was a senior member of the bishop's *familia* who, in the language of sixth- and seventh-century Rome, had a title to a *basilica*. One *abbas* of the *basilica* of St. Martin at Tours is spoken of as having a title to the abbacy, and the word *abbatia*, abbacy, is first found used of the headships of clerical *familiae*, and actually spread later to the headship of bodies of ascetics. The headship of the clerks of the Merovingian palace was termed an abbacy in the seventh century. Rusticus, bishop of Cahors, 622–30, had earlier held the office of archdeacon in the town of Rodez and "the abbacy of the royal basilica." In the *Vita Desiderii* it is said that "abbatiam palatini oratorii gessit." [2] The *Vita Desiderii*, c. vi, states that St. Didier was elected bishop of Cahors in 630 by the "consensus abbatum Cadurcorum," meaning the senior cathedral clergy. This is clear from other passages in the *Vita*. One of the parochial clergy who served a *basilica*, for instance, is elsewhere called the "abbot Claudius." It is, moreover, apparent that "the abbots of Cahors," as meaning the heads of communities of ascetics, would have had no title to elect the bishop, while the senior cathedral clergy would normally and canonically elect. The *Vita Praejecti* (St. Prix) similarly terms five of the cathedral clergy "quinque de senioribus abbatibus." The bishop who consecrated Augustine to Canterbury, Aitherius of Lyons, ordained a certain Austrigisil "priest and abbot of the basilica of St. Nicetus." [3] Austrigisil appears in

[1] See *Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque Mérovingienne*, ii, in *Bibliot. de l'École des Chartes*, tom. lxxxvi, pp. 57–61; Lesne, *Prop ec.*, i. 51; Vacandard, *op. cit.*, p. 100, n. 2; and in *Revue des questions historiques*, tom. lxix (1901), p. 23; also A. Poeschl, *Bischofsgut und Mensa Episcopalis* (Bonn, 1908), p. 77, n. 1.

[2] Vacandard, p. 37, n. 3.

[3] Cf. M.G.H., *Script. rer. Merov.*, iv, ed. Krusch, 195; Poeschl, p. 77. For the equation of *archipresbyteri* and *abbates*, see Maassen, p. 195, c. xi.

Gregory of Tours' works as a simple priest, not a monastic abbot, or with a monastic convent ; he became later bishop of Bourges. This well-attested use of " abbot " for a spiritual person of rank raises the question whether the " presbyteri abbates " whose names sometimes appear at the foot of Anglo-Saxon charters [1] were not merely notabilities of some minster of clerks or cathedral chapter. In the case of Kentish grants, the priest abbots may have been, as is commonly supposed, the clerical heads of minsters like Lyminge, Dover, Reculver, etc. But they may have been the senior members of the archbishop's *familia*, resident at Canterbury.

The life of St. Ouen, or Dadon, of Rouen is of interest with regard to this word " abbot," and to church conditions at the time. Dadon was a lay noble at the Merovingian palace, trained to write and issue the royal writs or diplomas : he was still the lay referendary when he was appointed in 640 by Dagobert to the see of Rouen.[2] As referendary he issued certain writs relative to the endowment of the monastery of Saint Denis, at the date a characteristic mixed house of clerks, Martinian monks, and devout poor or " matricularii." Dagobert either transferred the saint's relics to a new *basilica* in 626, or, more probably, then covered them with a new shrine of great richness ; his endowment of the house is certain.[3] When Dadon, after a year's retirement for preparation, was consecrated bishop of Rouen in 641, there was but one *parochia* for the city and but one monastic, ascetic house in the see. Dadon, however, was a patron of monks ; as bishop, he built and endowed a monastery of the Celtic type, which he called " Jerusalem," and a *basilica* with a monastery at Jumièges.

[1] Cf., e.g., the signatories to B.C.S., i, nos. 77, 81 ; H.S. iii. 617 and 618 ; and the " presbyter et abbas " in Mansi, x. 348 and 350.

[2] Cf. Vacandard, *Vie*, pp. 55, 57, and " Saint Ouen avant son episcopat " in *Revue des questions historiques*, lxix. 39 ; and Bouquet, *Receuil*, iv. 629.

[3] For M. Levillain's exhaustive researches on Saint Denis at this period, see Appendix ; and for Dagobert's donations, see R. Barroux, *Dagobert, roi des Francs* (Paris, 1938), p. 196.

His own archdeacon, Ragintram, became abbot of Jumièges, and, later, bishop of Avranches, and the close connexion between the bishop's *familia* and the rule of the monasteries of the see is also illustrated by the career of St. Wandrille. Wandregisil or Wandrille was, like Dadon himself, at first a palatine officer of Dagobert, then a hermit, then for ten years a monk in a Swiss monastery. He then returned to Dadon, who ordained him successively to all the orders of clergy and made him *canonicus* of his *familia* at Rouen. In 650 Wandrille built and endowed the monastery of Fontenelle, building within or for it a large basilica of squared stone, and three oratories: the *basilica*, I think, not without reference to the attendance of lay people.[1]

To turn to my third point, the character of the early Anglo-Saxon minsters, and, especially, those of Kent.

It is notable that to the Anglo-Saxons themselves their churches are minsters: you find no reference in early Kentish history to the *matres ecclesiae* or baptismal churches [2] of the date in Gaul. The Anglo-Saxon word

[1] The relative similarity in the lives of clerical and ascetic communities at the date, and the ease with which priests and abbots passed from one to the other, is illustrated by many lives of the period. St. Germanus, for instance, was trained as a clerk in the *familia* of the bishop of Autun, receiving the various orders up to the priesthood, for which he must have been thirty years of age. He was made abbot of St. Symphorian, at times described by Fortunatus as a monastery for "monks:" at times described as a "basilica." Germanus shared with the brethren the vigils and offices sung before the saint's relics: when he was made bishop of Paris "he remained a monk," chanting with the clerks of his new *familia* the office on vigils. In 588 he dedicated a basilica to St. Vincent, building a monastery near by: and when he died in 576, he was buried in a chapel dedicated to St. Syphorian in the vestibule of this basilica. The separate character of the monastic (ascetic) and clerical life was not stressed in the west till the pontificate of Gregory the Great, imbued with the spirit of Benedictine monachism. When he wrote to John, bishop of Ravenna, *Nemo etenim potest et ecclesiasticis obsequiis deserviri et in monachica regula ordinate persistere, ut ipse monasterii districtionem teneat, qui quotidie in ministerio ecclesiastico cogitur permanere*, he was protesting against untrained seekers of monastic office, but also drawing a sharper line of distinction between the two lives than would have been made by many virtuous sixth-century Gallic and Italian bishops.

[2] Cf. the reference to Aethelred's zeal *in ecclesiis et baptisteriis extruendis* in pope Agatho's letter, B.C.S., i. no. 48.

for *cathedra*, *bisceopstol*, is little used. What strikes the Anglo-Saxons in organized Christianity is the minster: the group of clergy living within their stockaded enclosure, within which is the *cirice* or building which they attend for Sunday mass. There are large minsters and small minsters; by the eleventh century, the date of *VIII Aethelred*, there are "heafod mynstru." In England in the seventh century, as in Gaul, the line between clerical and ascetic minsters is thin; the life is largely communal in both, the hours are said in both, the laity attend Sunday mass in the church of both. The *Penitentials* of Theodore, dating from the years 688–690, show that the churches of the monasteries served the countryside. "If anyone wishes," a clause runs, "to set down his minster in another place, let him do it with the counsel of his bishop and his brethren and let him send to the former place a presbyter for the ministry of the church." [1] The seventh-century Kentish minsters equate with the contemporary Gallic monasteries of clerks, served as baptismal churches, and were only peculiar in the relatively large proportion of them whose foundation was connected with the endowment of a royal nunnery. By contemporary custom the head of the community of clerks serving a royal nunnery was termed "abbot," and there is nothing to show that the higher clergy of such clerical *familiae* were not termed *abbates* as well. In Kent, the site of these royally endowed minsters was naturally connected with the old Roman roads, along which the vills of the early Kentish kings were strung out. At Canterbury, the centre of East Kent, the church of Christ in the city and the minster of St. Peter and St. Paul outside, belong to the early years of the conversion. The monastery of Lyminge was founded, c. 633, in southern Kent, for Æthelburg and bishop Paulinus; a certain Kentish priest, Romanus, chaplain to Æthelburg's daughter, Eanfled, endowed it with a large tract of adjacent land, to which his name has clung, Romney marsh. A charter of 741 states

[1] H.S., iii. 195.

that Cuthberht, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, had been abbot of the *familia* at Lyminge, and an abbess's name appears in a charter of 804. After Lyminge the minsters of Folkestone and Dover were founded about 630 and 640 respectively, at the Channel ports of the Watling Street, by king Eadbald, Folkestone for a nunnery for his daughter Eanswith, Dover for a clerical minster. Actually, both must have been served by clerks. Reculver, on the Thames estuary, was given by king Egbert in 669 to Bass, the mass-priest, to build a minster for men ; the site was formerly a Roman station and a royal residence of the early Kentish kings. The next royal foundations, Minster in Sheppey and Minster in Thanet, both of c. 670, were founded in the one case for a nunnery, with clerical *familia*, for Sexburg, and in the other, for a nunnery with clerical *familia* for Eormenburg. Minster in Sheppey was a natural site for the foundation of a princess by birth East Anglian, for here the road from Maidstone, crossing the Watling Street, reached the passage to Sheppey and across the Thames' mouth to Essex and East Anglia. Minster in Thanet, on a road from Canterbury to the east coast of Kent, was ruled by an abbess till the capture of abbess Leofrun by the Danes in 1011, after which it was inhabited only by a few clerks of the *familia* till granted by Cnut to the minster of St. Peter and St. Paul in 1030. The minster at Hoo, near the road from Rochester to Tilbury, has been shown by Professor Stenton to have been, like Bredon and Woking, a colony from Medehamstede. It was a house of clerks, and important during the Mercian supremacy over Kent.

The churches of the cities of Tours and Canterbury illustrate the juxtaposition and close association of the monastic and clerical life in the sixth and seventh centuries. The bishop of Tours had his *cathedra* in the *basilica* of St. Gatien, the founder of the see ; which *basilica* was built on the site of the first church in Tours, the old house-church given by the senator Litorius. At this cathedral the clergy, for at least part of the sixth century, lived the canonical life.

Gregory of Tours says that his predecessor Baudinus, who acceded in 546, "instituit mensam canonicorum." [1] Next in importance in the city ranked the great and rich basilica of St. Martin in Tours, built over his relics, and served by a *familia* of clerks, *fratres* and *pauperes*, living the canonical life. They were headed by an abbot. Two miles from Tours was the rock-hewn monastery of St. Martin himself, inhabited by ascetics proper; and in Tours itself, by c. 600, there were several other smaller basilicas, served by small clerical *familiae*.

As to Canterbury, in the first part of the seventh century, there was the basilica of the Saviour, built where Aethelberht gave Augustine the place for a see within the city, and perhaps for that reason not spoken of as having a minster or enclosure. It was served by a clerical *familia* living canonically. There was also the old Roman church, whose building, but not whose dedication, had survived from Roman times. The dedication to St. Martin must have been due to bishop Lothar's and Berthe's devotion to her patron, Martin, and to the bringing of his relics from Gaul. It would be unusual at the date to dedicate to a "modern" saint without the setting of his relics in the altar. There was also the basilica of St. Pancras, a converted fane, its dedication apparently due to the close connexion of the missionaries' parent monastery of St. Andrew with the station church of St. Pancras in Rome,[2] and possibly, again, to the possession of his relics. There was the minster within the grounds, *fundus*, of this old heathen temple, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul and very strictly founded "for contemplation," since the near presence of the bishop's church and the two other basilicas rendered pastoral work unnecessary.

Outside Canterbury, as has been said, royal munificence founded in the seventh-century minsters that took the place of what would have been called in Gaul mother or baptismal

[1] M.G.H., *Script. rer. Merov.*, i, ed. Arndt and Krusch, p. 447.
[2] M.G.H., *Epist.* ii., ed. Hartmann, i. 252.

churches. It was probably to the service or headship of the clerical *familia* of some such monastery in Gaul that Gregory I wished the presbyter Aurelius to be appointed. Though he was the protector of the privileges and separateness of monks, he wrote to the rector of the patrimony of St. Peter in Gaul, asking that somewhere in the patrimony "an oratory or a place needing a presbyter or an abbot" might be given him.[1] Since the foundation grants of these minsters, written on papyrus, have perished, it is not possible to bring contemporary evidence that they were spoken of as having territorial *parochiae*; indeed, their spheres of influence may in the seventh century have been tribal rather than territorial. Nevertheless, since there were, in the seventh century, few or no rural Kentish churches on the Gallic model, and since it is not possible to suppose that all Kentish men had to resort to Canterbury for baptisms and for mass on the great feasts, it would not be incorrect to speak of these Kentish minsters, maintaining their clerical *familiae* and ministering to the countryside, as having a *parochia*, or a diocese. The privilege of king Wihtred of Kent (696–716), whose tenor accords with Kentish conditions at the time, safeguards the status of the Kentish "churches or minsters" from lay domination, and lays down the archbishop's exclusive right to "rule the churches of God, and choose, appoint, bless, confirm and admonish the abbots, abbesses, priests, and deacons": the precept to apply to the minsters of Upminster, Reculver, the south Minster, Dover, Folkestone, Lyminge, Sheppey, and Hoo. These "churches or minsters" (apart from the churches of Canterbury and Rochester) are clearly the churches subordinate to the archbishop in Kent: no others are mentioned.

Finally, it may throw light on the history of the seventh-century minsters in England to recall the process by which, on the continent, the bishops were trying to draw small monasteries of ascetics under the general supervision with

[1] M.G.H., *Epist.* ii., ed. Hartmann, ii. 212.

which they ruled monasteries of clerks: to equate their position, that is, with that of clerical minsters, which paid the general overhead charges of the see. In early times the bishop had had an absolute title to all the landed endowments and offerings of rural churches. But by 600 it was well established that the holder of a *parochia* might "rule" its landed endowments and take at least two-thirds of its revenue. The remaining third, for the repair of the church, was, about 600, in some countries at the disposal of the bishop, in others, of the local rector. The bishop, however, was entitled to the *cathedraticum*, or fee on visitation: and had certain rights over the parish. He could at any time preach in its church, or hold ordinations there. It was to his interest to get minsters of ascetics acknowledged as subject to him on the same footing: and the more so as some small monasteries of clerks tried to establish their exemption on the ground that they were houses of monks, founded "for contemplation." There are several references in Gregory of Tours' works to the grant of privileges, by which either the pope or an episcopal founder exempted a house from the ordinary parochial obligations, on the ground of its ascetic character, and this is paralleled by provisions in earlier and contemporary councils.[1] The council of Agaunum, 517, forbade the setting up of small cells or little monasteries without the bishop's leave, and the council of Lerida, 524, indicated that the exemption of monasteries of monks was being abused. It laid down that, while offerings to a monastery were not bound "by the diocesan law," nevertheless, "no layman who desires to

[1] Cf. M.G.H., *Epist.*, tom. iii, ed. Hartman, ii. 203, for Gregory I's confirmation of the privilege granted by Pope Vigilius to Childebert I's monastery at Arles; and *ibid.*, i. 454, for the privilege asked for by Dynamius, ex-governor of Provence, for his nunnery at Marseilles. He asked Gregory I to define the powers of the diocesan bishop and the privilege laid down that the latter should celebrate mass in the monastery chapel only once a year, setting his *cathedra* there during mass only; he should nominate the presbyter of the monastery, but the nuns themselves should choose their own abbess. Cf. O. M. Dalton's ed. of *The history of the Franks* (Oxford, 1927), i. 354.

have a basilica which he has built consecrated shall by any means dare to segregate it from the diocesan law under pretence of its being a monastery, if no congregation has been collected or rule appointed by the bishop." [1]

The formula book of Marculf,[2] compiled before 643 [3] from older material, gives a specimen of such a privilege of exemption; one clause lays down that neither the bishop himself, his successor, nor any deputy, shall require anything by way of gift from the monastery *sicut de parochiis aut ceteris monasteriis*. The phrase *sicut de reliquis parochiis* occurs frequently in monastic privileges of the date, possibly as copied from the formula book of Marculf, or his older material. A privilege of 662 pledged the bishop of Amiens not to usurp or sell or bear away anything from the monastery to his city *sicut de reliquis parochiis*, and there are other instances.[4] But while in the sixth and seventh centuries many of the larger houses of ascetics obtained such a privilege, to safeguard their extra-parochial position, several episcopal synods extended the bishop's powers over monasteries not protected by such a privilege, e.g. the councils of Agde, 508, Orleans, 511 and 533, and Arles, 554. The council of Tours, 567, c. vii, assimilated abbots of monasteries to archpriests of rural parishes, while the Burgundian council of St. Jean de Losne [Latunense], of 673–5, gave a general confirmation to the privileges granted "in ancient or modern times to monasteries living according to the rules of the holy fathers." [5] As A. Poeschl, in *Bischofsgut und Mensa Episcopalis* points out, in Merovingian times, "unprivileged cloisters and the lower churches [Niederkirchen], especially parish churches, were increasingly aligned." All unprivileged cloisters finally became de-

[1] For council of Lerida, see Mansi, viii. 612, c. iii; Hefele-Leclercq, 2, ii. 1063. For council of Agaunum, see Maassen, 21, c. x; and for council of Orleans, 511, *ibid.*, 7, c. xix.

[2] M.G.H., *Legum*, sect. v, p. 40.

[3] See Levillain, "Le formulaire de Marculf et la critique moderne", in *Bibliot. de l'École des Chartes*, tom. lxxxiv. 78 n.

[4] See Poeschl, 94–5; Lesne, *Prop. ec.*, i. 94, n. 2, and 67, n. 5.

[5] Maassen, i. 124, c. vii, and 218, c. xiv.

signated as parishes, while the status of privileged cloisters was protected from the episcopal claims on the parish. The same point is made by Emil Lesne.[1] The freedom of monks of a privileged cloister from these burdens is expressly stated in a privilege of c. 692 to St. Colombe de Sens. The grant is made "because the monks, living by rule under an abbot, have always been separate and free from the conditions of clerks."

Three points may be noted in connexion with this issue of episcopal privileges: the struggle of St. Radegund to defend her monastery from the claims of her bishop: the terms by which Gregory the Great in the council of Rome, 604, laid down the general exemption of houses of monks from the normal obligations of a non-episcopal parish to its bishop: and the episcopal privilege granted to Saint Denis in 653. St. Radegund's struggle is notable as showing the effort of a diocesan bishop to refuse a privileged position to a very great monastery. When requested to install the relics of the holy cross in Radegund's monastery, the diocesan bishop refused, whereon Radegund placed herself under the protection of the metropolitan of Arles and all relations with the diocesan ceased during her lifetime. She died in 587. Radegund's successor, to heal the breach, applied again to the diocesan for protection (*tuitio*); whereon the bishop of Poitiers went to king Childebert and "elicited a precept from the king that it should be lawful for him to govern the monastery regularly, like his other parishes [*sicut reliquas parochias*].[2] In view of clashes of this sort, the council of Rome in 604 gave a general protection to houses of monks. It was laid down that no bishop must, against the will of the abbot, take out monks from a monastery and appoint them to the charge of other monasteries, or ordain them to sacred orders or the clerical office; he must not say mass publicly within a community, lest within the retreats of the servants of God occasion should be

[1] Lesne, *Prop. ec.*, i. 67, n. 5.
[2] M.G.H., *Script. rer. Merov.*, i. 397.

given for a popular assembly, or a sudden rushing in of women; he must not dare to set up his *cathedra* in their church; he has no power of ordering anything within the monastery, for monks ought to be altogether in the power of their abbot; he must not appoint a monk to any church or office without the leave of his abbot, "for monks should not be subjected to ecclesiastical conditions, or the canonical servitude and conditions." These clauses indicate the main lines on which particular monastic privileges were granted in the seventh century; they generally followed them fairly closely. Of all the clauses, the right of the monks to elect their own abbot, and to the uncontrolled use of their financial endowment, were the most important. In general accord with the canons of 604 were the privileges granted by the bishop of Meaux to Rebais in 636; by the archbishop of Sens to the cloisters of St. Pierre at Sens in 659, and to St. Colombe in 660; by the bishop of Amiens to Corbie in 664 [1]; and by bishop Landri to Saint Denis in 653.

The *familia* at Saint Denis, as M. Levillain has shown,[2] before the issue of this privilege, was of mixed character: the *basilica*, endowed by Dagobert, and ranking as a "senior ecclesia" of the see of Paris, had an abbot and clerks, certain *fratres* or *monachi* of the old, vowless, Martinian type (together with the clerks forming a *congregatio*), and certain *pauperes* or *matricularii*. They followed the Martinian course of psalmody. Queen Balthilde, as part of her effort to get the senior churches of the see of Paris to accept a monastic rule, supposed to have been the Columban-Benedictine rule in favour at the period, inspired bishop Landri to confer a privilege on Saint Denis, exempting it from parochial burdens, and king Clovis II to confirm the privilege; we have the authentic original of this confirmation,

[1] See Lot and Pfister, i. 340.

[2] *Études sur l'abbaye de Saint Denis*, iv, in *Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, tom. xci. 60. The presence of *matricularii*, or registered poor, is characteristic of a bishop's *xenodochium*, and perhaps suggests that, to its rôles of a "senior church" in the see of Paris and minster of Martinian monks, Saint Denis added that of the bishop's *xenodochium*.

dated 654. At the same time, king Clovis, with Balthilde behind him, tried to impose the " perpetual psalmody," as practised at St. Moritz, on Saint Denis ; but the abbot objected. Clearly, he preferred the older, freer life of a canonical clerk, for the clerks of his *familia*. The privilege was accepted with joy—perpetual psalmody, day and night, not. When Boniface and Pepin, a hundred years later, worked for the elimination of these old houses of mixed character, and their sorting into houses of monks and houses of canons, Saint Denis became a house of canons. But quite clearly, the issue of Landri's privilege was occasioned by Balthilde's desire to give the clerks and *fratres* of Saint Denis the status and character of monks.

The grants of episcopal privilege to cloisters in Gaul cannot with certainty be paralleled in the case of the Kentish minsters : the century when they might be expected to have been given was still a papyrus-using century. In such a century, however, some fragment of a roll (incomplete at both ends, and " lacunosa " even in the body of the document) may lie behind the documents which have come down to us and been regarded as late forgeries, as M. Levillain has shown they lie behind some eleventh-century forgeries at Saint Denis. If the contents of any papyrus document of the date has survived, it is to be expected that it would be by means of enrolment in some register. As to the greatest minster in Kent, St. Augustine's, the issue of some written privilege, episcopal or papal, is to have been expected. By the criterion of contemporary custom, it is inexplicable if none such were given. Since Gregory I issued privileges to the Frankish kings for Gallic abbeys, it is not improbable in itself that Boniface IV should have sent a written privilege for St. Augustine's to Aethelberht ; in the grant attributed to Boniface IV,[1] which cannot be accepted as a whole, the phrase " it shall not be subject to ecclesiastical conditions . . . nor serve the laws of the canons " rings true : it would be a normal contemporary expression to exempt

[1] B.C.S., i, no. 11.

St. Augustine's from the obligations of a clerical minster. Some grant by an archbishop of Canterbury to St. Augustine's may well have been made, and the tradition of it may lie behind the famous forged *bulla plumbea* of St. Augustine [1]: but this itself is clearly late. Possibly the position of St. Augustine's under Theodore and Hadrian was too secure to need safeguarding by written grant: possibly one was issued, but, being written on papyrus, has perished.[2] The tenor, on the other hand, of the doubtful privilege of bishop Erconwald to the minster of Barking in 695 [3] is in accordance with contemporary Frankish grants; the bishop grants the nuns the right of electing their own abbess and possessing their lands; no ordinations shall be held in the church of the minster.

Similarly, the questioned letter of pope Agatho to king Aethelred of the Mercians of c. 680 accords in some points with contemporary usage. It describes Medehamstede as the "premier abbacy" "in your region," and the "first of churches;" the adjuration that the diocesan bishop shall hold the abbot as a co-minister and "ac si Romanum legatum" recalls the contemporary appointment of certain Gallic bishops as *legati nati*, while the exemption from episcopal jurisdiction "in the internal and private parts of the minster or its parishes" suggests, not the later appropriated parishes, but the dependent cells of the abbey, as in the general usage of Celtic houses. That Medehamstede had such dependent cells or abbeys, Bredon, Woking, Bermondsey, etc., Professor Stenton has shown, and he accepts the papal privilege given for Woking and Bermondsey by pope Constantine I (701–715).[4] This privilege is of the greatest interest as showing them to have been

[1] B.C.S., i, no. 7.

[2] Of the questioned papal grants to St. Augustine's in the seventh century, that of Adeodatus, B.C.S., i. no. 31, does not conform to the type of exemption here in question; while that of pope Agatho, B.C.S., i. no. 38, merely secures the abbey free election of the abbot, and freedom from the archbishop's right to say mass within the abbey.

[3] B.C.S., i, no. 87.

[4] *Medehamstede*, p. 321.

minsters of canons, with cure of souls for their districts. The pope laid down the position of the minsters as regards their bishop. The *monasterialis census*, the relics of the old payment of the third of their revenue to the bishop, is to remain undiminished. The bishop shall ordain for the minsters a priest or deacon ; the congregation shall choose, the bishop shall consecrate, the abbot. The bishop has the right of visitation : he shall " inquire of any faults contrary to the sacred canons," a clause implying that the brethren of the minster, living the apostolic, communal life, have the " sacred canons," as their *norma vitae*, and no other rule. The bishop shall inquire into " those matters which pertain to the canonical cure," i.e. cure of souls in the district : that one of the sister cells to Woking and Bermondsey, Bredon, should baptize and teach had been laid down at its foundation. On the other hand, the abbot and his *praepositus* shall " rule " the endowments of the minsters : as an *archipresbyter* or *presbyter* would, at the period, rule the endowments of a *parochia* in Gaul.

The privilege of the Kentish king Wihtred,[1] mentioned above, is a royal, not an episcopal privilege, and no parallel to the Frankish exemptions of monasteries of ascetics. It is rather a royal confirmation of the rights of the archbishop of Canterbury over the Kentish minsters. It in no way makes the eight minsters' specified cloisters exempt. The archbishop is to " rule and govern the churches of God," " rule " implying that he has the final disposal of their landed endowment, as their rector ; he is to " elect " (in the original sense of " choose ") the abbots, abbesses, presbyters, and deacons, besides appointing, blessing, confirming, and admonishing them. There is no reference to the non-holding of ordinations in their churches, or the non-setting up of the episcopal *cathedra* therein—privileges indeed which only the pope or archbishop, and not the king, could have granted. The minsters here appear, not as those suspect and canonically discouraged organisms,

[1] Cf. *V.C.H., Kent*, ii. 12.

"double monasteries," but as minsters of clerks, headed by clerical abbots, some of them sustaining the charge of a nunnery headed by an abbess. There is no hint anywhere that the Kentish *familiae* lived as ascetics, lived "by rule." On the other hand, all the indications point to their leading the life "according to the canons," which implied a "vita monasterialis," a communal life in a monastery. The Danish raids of the ninth century account for the non-development of these well-endowed Kentish minsters. Whether they would have become great clerical minsters like Lichfield and Ripon, or whether the monastic character of any of them would eventually have been defined by privilege, remains unknown. Through the Danish incursions these minsters lost their *parochiae*, and the Kentish countryside, after an interval, was served by newer and more slenderly endowed churches. But till the Danes came these minsters served as the mother churches of Kent.

APPENDIX

The Charters of King Aethelberht

The four charters of king Aethelberht printed by Kemble and Birch have hitherto been regarded as spurious, or received with varying degrees of suspicion. For this, certain anachronistic forms in the dating, or the phraseology, are responsible. Even the charter which has met with most acceptance, as derived from the same MS. source which preserved the Laws of Aethelberht, the grant to St. Andrew's church, Rochester, is not accepted as genuine by the V.C.H. for Kent [see ii. 127], nor, so far as the writer knows, has any attempt been made to separate the possibly genuine elements in this or the other three charters from later additions or re-writings. Of these four charters, three are grants to St. Augustine's abbey [henceforth, A, B, and C: printed in B.C.S., i. as nos. 4, 5, and 6; K.C.D., i. as nos. 2, 3, and 4], and one [henceforth D] to the church of Rochester [B.C.S., i. no. 3; K.C.D., i. no. 1]. It is hoped to show that B incorporates certain elements from an original written grant to St. Augustine's, that A and C, though spurious, made use of B, or, conceivably, of the grant which B adapted; and that D, the grant to Rochester, derives from certain old Frankish formulas used later by Marculf, and stored among the archives of the bishop of Paris; the very probable channel of connexion being Bertha, daughter of the king of Paris, her chaplain-bishop Lothar [Liuthard] and, or, her notary.

The most striking MS. evidence about the three grants to St. Augustine's are the facsimiles in Trinity Hall MS. 1, Thomas of Elmham's *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis* [ed. C. Hardwick, in R.S., 1858; and see account of MS. in M. R. James's *Descrip. Cat. of MSS. of Trin. Hall, Camb.*]. Grant A, on fo. 21*b*, is prefaced by the note: *Hic notatur exemplar contemplandum prime carte regis aethelberti tam in longitudine quam in latitudine quam in scripture qualitate;* the other diplomas are similarly prefaced. Thomas of Elmham was a monk at St. Augustine's in 1407; he died in 1414. His chronicle of the

abbey is fairly complete till the year 806, and from thence continues as little more than a collection of documents till the year 1191. He stated that the archives of St. Augustine's contained loose charters whose text differed in parts from the copies of them in the abbey's *matriculae* [Hardwick, p. xxx]; he therefore, to attest their authenticity, made two copies of each in his *Historia*, one in the old handwriting, one in what he calls "the modern hand." The charters he copied were A, B, C, and the *bulla plumbea* of St. Augustine. The last named and C are copied in an uncial hand which has long interested palaeographers [see Maunde Thompson, *Introd. to Greek and Latin palaeography*, p. 384; *Descrip. Cat., Trin. Hall*, p. 2]. So far as the writer knows, no one has hitherto called attention to the fact that A and B, whose facsimiles have a less striking appearance in Elmham's MS., are clearly copies of a Merovingian cursive script. [Maunde Thompson distinguishes between Merovingian cursive and Merovingian bookhand, and would probably have described the facsimiles as in Merovingian bookhand; the French palaeographers, MM. Lauer and Samaran, Levillain, Georges Tessier, however, apparently make no dividing-line between Merovingian cursive and bookhand, calling the different varieties cursive.] Certain evidence, and especially the list of witnesses in B, support the conclusion that Thomas of Elmham had before him when he made the facsimiles a very old papyrus, or parchment, written in Merovingian script and much emended, i.e. B; that this possibly had a spurious grant, A, written on the back, in the same Merovingian script; and two spurious charters, C and the *bulla plumbea*, in uncials.

As to the Merovingian hand of A and B: I regret that owing to war conditions, the MS. can neither be photographed nor examined, as I had hoped, by a specialist. I examined the MS. in June 1939, with a view to determining the character of the hand by the aid of the reproductions of the Palaeographical Society, Maunde Thompson, Steffens, etc. For what it was worth, my conclusion was, that the hand copied was Merovingian. There is very little contraction of the words; the words are generally, but not always, divided from one another. The *a* is the typical open Merovingian *a* shaped like a double *c*; the *r* is high shouldered and wide; the *t* has its top stroke turned back and joined to the centre of the downstroke; the *s* is long and clubbed; the *i* combined with the preceding letter, as a left-turned, curved stroke; the writing of *et* is Merovingian. I

compared all the letters with Maunde Thompson's Merovingian script on p. 356 and the Carolingian on p. 368, and found the *a, d, r, e, s, n, h, m, t,* Merovingian and not Carolingian, while *c, l, o, u,* are roughly the same in both, and *p* and *q* very similar. The letters are Merovingian also by the test of comparison with the specimens of Merovingian letters on p. 2 of L.S. It cannot be forgotten that, accepting Thomas of Elmham's assertion that he made a copy of the writing in good faith, it is not actually possible to write a very close facsimile unless the same kind of pen is used. Thomas is not likely to have had exactly the same pen; but I am not myself able to doubt that the form of the letters he was copying was Merovingian.

Before dealing in detail with A and B, and their provenance, it may be useful to refer to the parallel case of the genuine and spurious diplomas of Saint Denis, ably described by M. Levillain in his *Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'epoque mérovingienne*, iii, in *Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, tom. lxxxvii (1926) and, more shortly, by Tessier in *Le moyen age* (1929), pp. 59, 65. Saint Denis had, in the time of the eleventh-century reform, several original seventh-century papyrus grants, whole or partial. In particular, it had Clovis II's confirmation (654) of Landri's privilege, and whole or part of the privilege itself. It was desired to establish the exemption of Saint Denis from the control of the bishop of Paris, and that in an eleventh-century sense, going beyond the seventh-century exemption from parochial burdens. As a result, the abbey fabricated certain diplomas with a technique of its own. The spurious diplomas were all written on the backs of authentic Merovingian papyrus grants, and in Merovingian cursive—all the spurious charters however in the same scribe's hand. M. Levillain goes into the questions, how far the diplomas may be accounted "actes récrits" and how far intentional forgeries, and concludes that, though in certain cases as much original material was used as possible, the re-writing of some of the grants was tendentious: Landri's privilege, as re-written, adapted the disposition of the original grant to the needs of the eleventh-century reformers [see Levillain, *Études*, iii. 22, 257].

This production of papyrus diplomas in Merovingian script at Saint Denis, and the fact that Saint Denis had in the eleventh century more genuine Merovingian diplomas than have survived, lends support to Thomas of Elmham's implicit assertion that he had before him two diplomas in Merovingian script. The

fact that he had also two in uncials is not at all surprising ; for Canterbury had early seventh-century texts in uncials, and is supposed even to have preserved some of the codices sent by St. Gregory. That any fabricator of diplomas, perhaps in the eleventh-century reform, should have produced texts in uncials, is not surprising ; the *bulla plumbea* is in uncials and is exactly the type of text that might have been expected : it is in intention the Kentish counterpart of the Sandionisian semi-spurious privilege of bishop Landri. Since a number of uncial (or rustic capital) scripts are known to have emanated from Canterbury [see reproduction in vol. ii, plate 18, 19, of the Palaeographical Society's *Facsimiles*, ed. E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson ; for a description of the Roman rustic capitals used by the missionaries at Canterbury, E. Chatelain's *Uncialis scriptura codicum latinorum*, Paris, 1902, p. 384 ; for a reproduction of a charter of 679 in this hand, Hodgkin's *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 453], no production of forged uncials at Canterbury need surprise us : the material was there at hand. The case with forged, or semi-forged, Merovingian scripts is quite different. So far, no examples of MSS. emanating from Canterbury in the Merovingian script are known. Yet it is easier to assume an authentic Kentish grant in a Merovingian hand as behind Thomas of Elmham's copies of A and B, than to account for the Merovingian script of A and B in any other way.

Certain elements in the diplomas A and B forbid the supposition that Thomas of Elmham had before him two untouched-up original papyri. The dating of A and B, by the era of the incarnation, could scarcely have been used much before Theodore, after the acceptance of the Roman Easter in 664, spread Dionysius Exiguus' dating cycles in England, thus spreading knowledge of Dionysius' use of the era of the incarnation. The forms of the place-names in the boundaries given in A and B could not be seventh-century and might even be eleventh-century, as Professor Stenton and Miss Harmer kindly inform me. But where did the scribe who did the retouching or fabrication of A and B get his Merovingian script to copy from ? Why did he not use the uncials at hand ? Certain internal evidence of Frankish forms, and the account of the famous inspection of the MSS. of St. Augustine's in 1181, lend support to the view that St. Augustine's once had a diploma from Aethelberht in a Merovingian hand, on papyrus, and that this lies behind the grants copied in facsimile by Thomas of Elmham.

To quote the account of the examination of MSS. in 1181, related by Gervase of Canterbury [see Hardwick, *Elmham*, p. xxxi]. Gervase tells us of the quarrel of the abbot elect of St. Augustine's with archbishop Richard, and his assertion of the convent's old exemption from his jurisdiction. The archbishop challenged St. Augustine's to produce their deeds, saying that such monastic privileges were in most cases false. They were reluctant to do so, alleging as a ground that their precious MSS. might not be safe in the examiners' hands. Finally, they sent certain deeds off to the pope for confirmation, which they obtained, and produced a diploma of king Aethelberht and the *bulla plumbea* of St. Augustine for the inspection of the judges appointed to examine the deeds of the abbey [Hardwick, p. xxxii]. Of these MSS. "one indeed," says Gervase, "was most ancient, but it was erased and underwritten (*rasa et subscripta*) and as it were emended, and without a seal. This they said was the privilege of king Aethelberht. The other schedule however was more recent, and from it a new leaden seal with the image of a bishop depended. This charter they said was the privilege of St. Augustine. In these privileges, according to the judgment of those who inspected them, these points chiefly deserved notice :— In the first charter, the age indeed was most admirable (*laudabilis*) : but it had been erased and written upon nor was it fortified by any seal. The other, indeed, was to be condemned because of the newness of its letters and its leaden seal, when it ought to have been some five hundred and eighty years old, that is from the time of blessed Augustine, whose it was said to be. It should be noted, indeed it is notoriously well known, that, though the seal was of lead, Cisalpine priests and prelates do not authenticate their writings with leaden bulls. The mode of the Latin and the form of speech are seen to differ from the Roman style. [For the Roman cursus or style, see R. L. Poole's *Hist. of the papal chancery*, p. 79.] These two privileges alone were produced, though the monks commonly said they had others."

It is clear that in this examination of 1181, the judges examined the originals of Thomas of Elmham's uncial copy of the *bulla plumbea*, and of one of his diplomas in Merovingian script : this must have been the *schedula* of "praiseworthy oldness." It is notable that the judges had a standard of their own for judging old writing and documents : while they dismissed the "writing" of the *bulla plumbea*, which was, in fact, in uncials,

[cf. Trin. Hall MS. fo. 24*a*] as impossibly new, they did not dispute that Aethelberht's grant was of a very great age. But they held that portions of it had been tampered with (*emendata*) : and held its having no seal highly suspicious. In this point they were unjust, as it seems certain that in many cases Merovingian papyri had no seal. The Merovingian papyri reproduced by L.S. have no traces of a seal ; the first parchment diploma, Planche 14, of 677, has traces of having borne a seal, as have the later parchment ones. Their other objection, that the MS. had been *rasa et quasi emendata*, was just : and may well explain the combination of original and anachronistic passages in B, and perhaps A. It is unlikely that the judges' word *rasa* indicates that the MS. was a parchment palimpsest, which would have been rewritten in the same hand throughout, and would not, it would seem, have suggested the word *emendata* ; the spurious eleventh-century Sandionisian charters are in the same hand throughout, with no " emendations ". The wording suggests that the judges easily discerned certain alterations or additions in the old grant before them : some of the alterations made possibly to support St. Augustine's title to its lands in the troubled period after the Danish invasions, or after the Conquest. M. Levillain connects the making of some of the spurious land grants at Saint Denis in the second half of the ninth century with the desire to repair the ravages and pillaging of the invaders shortly before [*Études*, iii (1926), p. 76], and the land grant of Aethelberht to St. Augustine may have been first " emended " in such a period. Some of the anachronisms in B have no tendentious significance, like those of that privilege of exemption, the *bulla plumbea* : there is no clear ground for attributing these to the eleventh-century reformers.

The fact that Thomas of Elmham copied two grants in Merovingian script, coupled with the analogy of the Dionysian forgeries, suggests the possibility that, as at Saint Denis, a spurious grant was written on the back of an original or very old Merovingian diploma, in a copied hand. In that case, the original (the emended) charter must have been B, which has certain notably early features ; A may have been frankly " ficta " or copied from some dubious entry in a register.

In form, B is a *carta pagensis*, a private charter, and does not follow the form of the Merovingian royal diploma, which was consistently a writ beginning *Viris illustribus*, and authenticated by the words (name of the referendary) *recognovit*, or

optulit, at the conclusion, no witnesses being needed. Yet the most striking officer among the list of witnesses to B is the referendary. It is however possible to accept as genuine the form of the *carta pagensis* coupled with the signature of a referendary: in some Frankish diplomas the referendary's signature does occur in the midst of other signatures, though these were necessary only to a private charter: it so occurs among bishops' names in the signatures to Clovis II's confirmation of Landri's privilege. The central position in the list would be due to the signature in the central portion of the papyrus: M. Levillain [*Études*, iii. 22] believes that diplomas were carried for signature first to the king and royal princes or the referendary if present, then to the bishops (if such were present), who signed in the order in which they sat, from the centre outwards, such order being determined by seniority of consecration. The names of the signatories to B (see *infra*) would seem to indicate that Aethelberht had a court formed on the Frankish model, the result probably of his long previous connexion with the kings of Paris through the marriage with Bertha, and to such a court the referendary was the most exalted lay and noble secretary: a kind of superior notary. In fact, however, such a noble's knowledge of legal forms must have derived from Bertha's chaplain, or her private notary; we know that Bertha's mother, Ingoberga, had a notary who composed and wrote down her will. In any case, bishop Lothar or the notary would have had access to the same classes of record as Marculf did forty or fifty years later: the charters of the bishops of Paris, *cartae pagenses*. The *carta pagensis* may have been selected by the *dictator* of B as a commoner form: or as better known to him: or as more suitable for the use of an English king, than a direct copy of the exclusive form of the Merovingian royal diploma. The Frankish influence that remodelled Aethelberht's court may have stopped short of supplying him with the form of the Frankish royal diploma: or possibly Aethelberht's original began thus, but the beginning of the roll perished, and was "emended". In view of Frankish parallels, there is no need to reject the combination of a *carta pagensis* and the signature of a referendary.

As to the origin of the attestation of sixth- and seventh-century Christian documents by the signature of several witnesses: this goes back to the processes of Roman civil law. Marculf's lib. ii, no. 17, the *testamentum* of a man and his wife, is attested

by witnesses' signatures; and his no. 37 [Zeumer, p. 97] has an interesting account of how the "prosecutor" of a *testamentum* or grant seeks the registering of the deed before the court of the city, presided over by bishop and count. The deed, signed and sealed *bonorum hominum manibus*, is read aloud, and one copy given to the prosecutor and another inscribed in the city's records.

As to the genuineness of the phrases in B:

In nomine domini nostri Jesu Cristi: may be early seventh century: or may be a later expansion of the *chrismon*, the cross traced at the beginning of the grant.

Notum sit omnibus tam praesentibus quam posteris: is a loose version of a phrase frequently found in Merovingian royal diplomas, and not in the later Carolingian ones: cf. J. Havet, *Questions mérovingiennes*, p. 29, a grant of Thierry IV: *Theudericus rex Francorum viris inlustribus, gravionibus, seu omnibus agentibus vel iunioribus eorum, tam presentibus quam futuris:* repeated in grants of 722 and 743: and see *infra*, p. 64.

The form of the grant, between the opening and the statement of boundaries, seems to have been a recasting by eleventh-century reformers of Aethelberht's grant: perhaps with original fragments worked in.

Tradidi deo per ipsum antistitem: concessi or *dedi* would have been the usual seventh-century word of grant, following the forms of Roman civil law. The grant to God, rather than to a specific church, is an early form. But the grant of "perpetual liberty" from all powers ecclesiastical and secular is probably an insertion. Possibly it may be a re-editing of an original grant of *mundbyrd* or *tuitio* (cf. Zeumer, p. 111), or of a royal immunity such as the *cartae regales* of Marculf, lib. i, nos. 3, 4, 24.

Si quis vero. Although the grants of Merovingian kings were made in perpetuity [*proficiat in perpetuo: per tempora conservitur*], they contained no penal clause. It is not unlikely however that Aethelberht's original grant should have had a penal clause, for it is cast in the form of a *carta pagensis*, and it was in the *cartae pagenses* of bishops that the penal clause, in its Christian form, originated. Marculf's *formula* for the endowment of a large monastery or xenodochium, a *carta pagensis* [Zeumer, p. 73] has a very long and elaborate penal clause, beginning *Si quis*, as had his alternative version [*ibid.*, p. 76].

The form of the few place names in B is late, or not demon-

strably early seventh century: cf. J. K. Wallenberg, *Kentish place names*, p. 5. It is of interest to compare the reference to the cattle market, Riðerescaepe, near to St. Augustine's, with the famous wine-fair of St. Denis at Paris in the seventh century.

The dating by the era of the incarnation cannot be earlier than mid-seventh century; dating by month, indiction and year of the king's reign would be normal. The word *Actum* however occurs in Marculf's *cartae pagenses* as the normal word of dating: it was the word for the issue of documents from the court of the Frankish *judex publicus* (count or *grafio*), or a synod of bishops: the record of a deed done. Marculf in his preamble stated that he was giving examples of documents handed down to him, and making up other forms himself: but, he said, when compositions about certain matters were arrived at in the court and the record had to be deposited in its archives, it would be necessary for the notary to record the matter in his own words, since no diploma exactly suitable to the case could be supplied beforehand [Zeumer, p. 37].

The sentences accompanying the witnesses' signatures in B are slightly more elaborate than those accompanying seventh-century Merovingian diplomas, which suggests retouching: but the fact that there are sentences of subscription attests early origin. This is mentioned because it has been put forward with regard to English charters that the form "† *signum manus* [name]" is earlier than the form "*ego, peccator* [name] *subscripsi*," etc. In the indubitably authentic diploma of Clovis II to Saint Denis of 654 [L.S., planche 6] each witness made his own subscription, drawing his own somewhat elaborate cross beside his name: the sentences run: *ego* [cross and name] *peccator subscripsi*: or *iussus subscripsi* or *consentiens subscripsi*. Comparing this with the facsimile of king Hlothere's charter of 679 given by Hodgkin in *Hist. Ang. Sax.*, ii. 453, a charter in the normal Canterbury uncials, it is clear that the signatures are not those of the witnesses themselves, but have all been copied by one scribe. He drew a "token" cross to show that the script he was copying had the witness's individual mark: he wrote *signum manus*, which never occurs in the original of a Merovingian diploma, signed by the witnesses themselves, and wrote the witness's name. It is not impossible that Hlothere's original grant had sentences of subscription omitted by the scribe. The fact that B has no *signum manus*, but sentences of subscription

rather supports the earliness of this list of witnesses than otherwise.

It is however the names and offices of the witnesses themselves that speak most strongly for their authenticity: they are those of the court of a Merovingian king at the time of Aethelberht, and it is easier to accept them as such than to account for them in any other way. It is only possible to account for this list of witnesses as forged, if a forger could be postulated thoroughly conversant with the works of Gregory of Tours and ignorant of those of Bede. The importance of Aethelberht's marriage to Bertha [Bertechildis], daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, has recently received strong archaeological support. Mr. Jolliffe has stressed the early connexions of the Jutes with the middle Rhine and the occurrence of Frankish elements in certain Kentish place names; the coin finds at Sutton Hoo (part of an East Anglian treasure which, archaeologists tell us, represents the final stage of the typical Kentish culture) show that Aethelberht and his successors to the mid-seventh century used Frankish coins only, minting none of their own; all the coins in the find were struck at Merovingian mints [*Antiquity*, Mar. 1940, p. 65]. It is not improbable that Aethelberht should have modelled his court on Frankish lines; if he had royal vills, as Mr. Jolliffe believes and as the sixth-century Merovingian kings had, he must have had agents in charge of them, and some officer at court responsible for these local officers; the Franks would have called the local officers *agentes* or *domestici*, the court officer, the *comes palatii*. If Aethelberht collected any tribute from his conquered subjects (and the frequency of the suffix *gisil*, *gisela*, hostage, in both Frankish and Kentish proper names suggests a gap between conquerors and conquered, as does the evidence of the different Kentish social classes), then the collection of tribute would rest with the count of the palace and would demand written assessments. There are numerous references to such attempts to collect tribute, to assess (*describere*) their subjects to tribute, by the officers of the Frankish kings, in the pages of Gregory of Tours: the system rested on written lists. It seems likely then that Aethelberht had a court and officers on the Frankish plan, and that the introduction of writing in Kent came with the copying of Frankish methods of government before the coming of Augustine: it would be needed in connexion with the king's landed possessions, the equivalent of the Merovingian fisc, and with tribute.

A detailed description of the officers of a Merovingian court in the sixth and early seventh centuries is given in H. Bresslau's *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* (Leipzig, 1912), i. 360. [See also F. Lot, *Fin du monde antique* (1927), p. 404; M. Conrad, *Ein Traktat über romanisch-fränkisches Amterwesen* (Weimar, 1908).] These officers occur as the recipients of, or signatories to, Merovingian royal diplomas, as well as in the works of Gregory of Tours, and some early saints' lives. Bresslau would group them in three main grades, according to the order in which their signatures usually occur after a diploma; first, the *patricius*, the *dux*, the *comes*; then the *referendarius*, the *pincerna* and the *senescalcus* [in Gregory of Tours, the *comes stabuli:* see *Rer. Merov.*, i, p. 392]: then the *domestici* or *agentes* and the *optimates* [Bresslau, i. 360, 368]. Of these Frankish officers, the *dux*, higher in the late imperial hierarchy than the *comes*, seems to have been connected with the leadership of the host. The *comes*, in the time of Gregory of Tours, might be either a central or local officer: a count of the palace, or a count of Paris, Tours, etc. The referendary was the head of the notariat, the issuing officer of the Frankish kings: he was a *vir illuster*, and a noble. Young lay nobles were trained to write the writs of the Frankish kings by the professional notariat, the great channel by which knowledge of Roman law and legal forms passed to the barbarian kings and their bishops: then the lay noble as referendary dictated and authenticated the royal writs, by means of his own name, his elaborate *signum recognitionis*, and the words [name] *optulit* or *recognovit*; he then won promotion in some cases to the county or patriciate (government of a province), or, in several notable cases, to designation by the king to a bishopric. Dadon, or Ouen, was thus promoted from the referendariat to the see of Rouen; Landri from the referendariat to the see of Paris [Levillain, in *Bib. de l'École des Chartes*, tom. lxxxiv, pp. 77, 88]; Chrodegang from the referendariat of Charles Martel to the see of Metz. The Carolingian house however gave up the use of referendaries and a lay secretariat; Charles the Great used bishops and clerks. The *pincerna*, or butler, in accordance with the usual lack of specialised function at the Merovingian court, was sometimes connected with the secretariat. Bonitus, a referendary of Sigibert III, had earlier been *princeps pincernarum*, and went on to the patriciat of the province.

As to the *grafio*, apparently an alternative title for the local *comes:* though the origin of the word is not established, it would

appear to be connected with the Greek *graphiarius* or *graphido*, occasionally found for *notarius*. As has been shown, the *comes palatii* had duties connected with writing, and *grafio* would appear to have been used of the local count in connexion with his duty of enregistering in the *codices publici* of his court the records of *acta* or decisions given in it, or compositions arrived at before him : a notarial act. [Cf., for the open showing of these *codices publici* in the *curia*, Marculf *carta pagensis* no. 2 ; Zeumer, pp. 97, 98.] The *comes* is sometimes termed *judex*, or *judex publicus* [Zeumer, p. 43], and the *grafio* also ; Gregory of Tours prefers *judex* to *grafio*. Since Merovingian royal writs are addressed to *comites* and *grafiones*, but not to them both, it would seem that the names are alternatives for the same officer, *grafio* stressing his legal and notarial duties. The partial adoption of the Greek form, *graphiarius* or *grafido* by the Merovingian court in the sixth century is not impossible : the term referendary was borrowed from the Byzantine secretariat, and not from western imperial usage : and *archiater* is used by Gregory of Tours for the *primus medicorum* at a Frankish court.

References to counts, both of the palace and local, domestics and referendaries are frequent in the words of Gregory of Tours, and the following officers are the recipients of Merovingian royal writs : that of Dagobert, 632–633 : *Viris inlustribus Wuandelberto duci, Gaganrico domestico et omnibus agentibus praesentibus et futuris ;* that of Clovis II, 642, *Viris inlustribus Wuandalberto duci et Ebrulfo grafioni vel omnibus agentebus praesentebus et futuris ;* that of Chlothar III, 657–673, *Viris inlustribus—Vuarattone, Baseno grafionibus item Amalberto, Madelando, senescalcis et Vuaningo comite palatii ;* and that of Thierry III, 673–690, *Viris inlustribus omnibus agentebus tam praesentebus quam et futuris* [L.S., planches 3, 7, 11, 18].

The witnesses' names and offices in B become intelligible in this Frankish context. They include :—

Ego Aethilbertus rex Anglorum hanc donacionem meam [*signo sanctae Crucis propriat manu :* probably an emendation to express the king's mark or cross] *confirmavi.*

Ego Augustinus [*gratia dei archiepiscopus :* emendation] *libenter subscripsi* [the word of signature which was to have been expected after all the signatures].

Ego Eadbaldus regis filius favi.

Ego Hamigisilus dux laudavi [only one *dux* signs, which accords with Merovingian conditions]. There is no

senescalcus: the *dux* probably represents the highest military officer, not a local ruler. The proper name is Frankish.

Ego Hocca comes consensi [cf. diploma of 654: *consentiens subscripsi*, in some cases]. His place after the *dux* permits the guess that he was the *Comes stabuli*, the officer subordinate to the *dux*.

Ego Angemundus referendarius approbavi [a word which, though not the official Merovingian *recognovi* or *optuli*, has a hint of authorisation: it is stronger than the normal *subscripsi*]. The proper name is Frankish: Cf. the Frankish Aunemundus, which eventually produced the word dauphin: L.S. diploma of 654, p. 7.

Ego Graphio comes benedixi. There is confusion here: *graphio* could not possibly be an Anglo-Saxon proper name. The *graphio* was normally a *comes*. Since this officer follows the referendary, it is permissible to see in him a subordinate writing or registering officer: a count of the palace, probably. It seems unlikely that there would have been a local count of the *civitas* of Doroverniae, where the act was registered, when this was Aethelberht's own capital.

Ego Tungisilus regis optimas confirmavi. [The proper name contains the characteristic suffix, *gisela*, hostage. *Regis optimas*: see Conrad's *Traktat*, p. 12, where, in a clearly Merovingian clause, the *optimas* is described as giving judgment in the king's presence: *et causas de scola regis et de domo palatii iudicat et damnat.*]

Ego Pinc[ern]a consensi: [the scribe has misread a contracted form of the word *Pincerna* for a proper name.]

Ego Geddi corrobaravi.

It is hardly possible to doubt, in view of this list of witnesses, that Aethelberht had a court and officers on the Frankish model; and the list speaks strongly for the fact that he should have issued a written grant to the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul.

GRANT A. *Omnem hominem qui secundum Deum vivit.*

This is a grant of land in honour of St. Peter that a monastery may be built there, exhibiting no distinctive seventh-century features. There is a penal clause beginning *Si quis*. The list of witnesses appears to have been copied from that of B.

GRANT C. *In nomine sanctae et individuae Trinitatis.* cf. Marculf's *carta pagensis* no. 1: for similar references to the inseparable Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

This grant of the vill of Sturry [Sturigao] or Cistelet, copied in uncials by Thomas of Elmham [Trin. Hall MS., f°. 23*a*], appears to have been confected, by the help of Bede, to supply a written grant for the abbey's ancient possession of this vill. The grant opens with a quotation from the Advent office, refers to Aethelberht's long reign of fifty years, a fact obtainable from Bede. The phrase for monks, *in usus fratrum sub regulari tramite inibi Deo serviencium*, might be early. The sentence that the king has given the grant to *Angemundum presbyterum* to be transcribed betrays the ignorance of the composer of the grant that referendaries were laymen. The same list of witnesses is copied at the end. Birch's version includes an *Aldhuno* among the *optimates*: but he does not occur in Thomas of Elmham's facsimile.

GRANT D.

This is the grant from the *Textus Roffensis*, the MS. which has preserved the one document from Aethelberht's court hitherto accepted as transmitted in a written form from his own day: the papyrus with his laws, copied into an early Rochester register. See F. Liebermann's *Notes on the Textus Roffensis*, in *Arch. Cant.* vol. xxii. (1898), p. 101.

Bede was aware of Aethelberht's written laws, for he compared him to Justinian as a maker of a legal code. Since a Rochester register enrolled one Kentish papyrus of Aethelberht's day, it is not impossible that it should have enrolled his original papyrus grant to the cathedral (restating the dating according to a form that must be at least mid-seventh century).

The grant begins: *Regnante in perpetuum domino nostro Jhesu Christo Salvatore. Mense Aprilio, sub die iiii kal. Maias, indictione vii. Ego Aethelbertus*, etc. Dr. R. L. Poole showed in his *Hist. of the Papal Chancery*, that when pope Hadrian I adopted this opening phrase, at the period when papal diplomas no longer stated the regnal year of the east Roman emperor, and had not yet begun to state that of the western emperor, he took over from Frankish usage a phrase "immemorially old". It was, in fact, very old. It was one of those final doxologies used in the divine office, frequently the source of early diplomatic phraseology. It is actually found in its original Greek form,

dating from the liturgical usage before the days of the peace of the church, in the office for the martyrdom of St. Polycarp: *βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ:* and in its Latin form, from the *Actibus Sancti Maximi Martyris, Regnante Domino nostro Jesu Cristo cui est gloria in saecula saeculorum* [*Reliquiae liturgicae vetustissimae,* F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq: *sectio altera, ab aevo apostolico ad pacem ecclesiae.* Paris 1913: vol. i, sectio i, p. 111* and p. 129*]. The opening *Regnante,* etc., occurs in no. 17 of Lib. ii of the *Formulare* of Marculf, the book of *cartae pagenses* [Zeumer, p. 86]. Levillain has shown that bishop Landri held the see of Paris from c. 643–656, after experience as referendary at the court of the king of Paris; and that the monk Marculf who composed the formula book for the use of the scribes in training, the *pueri* of Landri, had as his main source collection, the archives of the bishops of Paris. The models for his royal diplomas [*praeceptiones regales*] were supplied, M. Levillain believes, by Landri or his own early connexion with the Frankish referendariat [*Études Bib. de l'École des Chartes,* lxxxiv (1923), p. 88]. M. Levillain calls the *Formulare* "the most precious collection of documents we possess for the Parisian region in the first half of the seventh century," but some of the models, of which no. 17 is one, go back to an earlier period than that.

This no. 17 is such an early document, and notable on various grounds. It curiously combines appeal to the sanctions of Roman civil law and the practices of the *respublica* with those of the Christian faith. It makes bequest not only of lands and villas, but also of basilicas and *monasteria.* It quotes one of the Novels to the Theodosian *Code,* and also the *Digest.* [For the apparent references to the *Digest,* cf. Zeumer, p. 86, *casus humanae fragilitatis,* with *Digest,* 1.18.6.7: and the more important passage about the penalty payable to the fisc, Zeumer, p. 87, to *Digest,* 5.2.8.14]. The late Dr. H. Kantorowicz, to whom I owe the tracing of one reference to the *Digest,* assured me that he regarded that passage as proving that the formula no. 17 belonged to the second half of the sixth century. He said that the *Digest* was known among the Franks at the end of the sixth century, but that knowledge of it lapsed in the seventh century. He would have been astonished to find the *Digest* quoted in a seventh-century Frankish document, but not in one belonging to the latter part of the sixth. There is no difficulty in accepting no. 17 as pre-seventh century: for, apart from

internal evidence of its earliness, Marculf states in his preface that he has lived already about seventy years, and that he has studied old forms: *hanc [legem] quod apud maiores meos iuxta consuetudines loci, quo degimus, didici, vel ex sensu proprio cogitavi, ut potui, coacervare in unum curavi* [Zeumer, p. 36].

No. 17 begins: *Qualiter in uno volumine testamentum personae condatur. Regnante in perpetuo domino nostro Jesu Cristo, quolibet anno ille, regnante rege illo, sub die illo, ego ille et conjunx mea illa, sana mente integroque consilio, metuentis casus humanae fragilitatis, testamentum nostrum condedimus, quem illi notario scribendum commissimus, ut, quomodo dies legitimos [sic] post transitum nostrum advenerit, recognitis sigillis, inciso lino, ut Romanae legis decreverit auctoritas, per inlustres viros illos, quos in hac pagina testamenti nostri legatarios instituimus, gestis rei publicae municipalibus titulis eorum prosecutione ab ipsis muniatur.*

It is of interest that this formula contains, towards the end, two penal clauses against attempts to upset the will. Both begin *Si quis*. The first invokes the most solemn of Christian sanctions, expulsion from Christian communion and vengeance of the Lord at the last judgment, the second, the penalty at Roman civil law for raising unsuccessfully the *querela inofficiosi testamenti* [see W. W. Buckland, *A text book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 327]. The passage runs: *Si quis nostram voluntatem resistere* [invocation of Christian penalties], and *Si quis de heredis vel proheredis nostris seu qualibet persona contra hanc testamenti paginam, quam plena et integra volontate fieri rogavimus, venire aut aliquid pulsare voluerit, inferat ei, contra quem repetit, tantum et aliud tantum, quantum in hunc testamentum contenetur scriptum, et insuper sociato fisco auri liberas tantas, argentum tantum, et quod repetit vindicare non valeat.* The formula apparently relies on the *Digest*, 5.2.8.14, for the penalty due to the fisc when, after judgment, the *querela* fails: "It must be remembered that a person who alleges that a testament is inofficious without grounds and thereupon loses, will forfeit what the testament gave him and the fiscus can recover it by action as a thing which is taken away from the party for unworthiness" [*Digest*, trans. by C. H. Monro (Cambridge, 1904), p. 324].

With regard to the phrasing of grant D: *Regnante in perpetuum:* immemorially old, and occurring in Marculf's no. 17. The dating, by month, day and indiction, as in Marculf. *Ego Aethelbertus rex filio meo Eadbaldo admonitionem catholicae fiedi*

optabilem: a writ form: Marculf's first *carta pagensis*, a grant "when it is wished to build a great monastery," is in writ form "*per presentem epistolam donationis meae dono*" [Zeumer, p. 72]. *Nobis est aptum semper inquirere, qualiter per loca sanctorum, pro animae remedio* [this phrase, as in Marculf, no. 17, and lib. i, nos. 3, 30, and in a sixth-century *Formula Arvernensis*, for the freeing of a slave, Zeumer, p. 30]. *vel stabilitate salutis nostrae, aliquid de portione terrae nostrae in subsidiis servorum Dei devotissima voluntate debeamus offerre. Ideoque tibi, sancte Andrea, tuaeque ecclesiae, quae est constituta in civitate Hrofibreui, trado*, etc. [The donation to the saint and his church, instead of the bishop of the church, is early: see Lesne, *Prop. ec.*, p. 6]. The boundary names are few, and relatively late. The penal clause, *Si quis vero augere voluerit*, is a parallel to Marculf's *Si quis nostram voluntatem . . . conatus fuerit . . . refragare*, but shorter and less elaborate. As in Marculf's no. 17, there is no final protocol with the date, and it is to be suspected that the scribe who copied the papyrus grant into the *textus Roffensis* in its original form, rendered the fact that Aethelberht and his "princes" had signed the document in his own words: *Hoc cum consilio Lawrencii episcopi et omnium principum meorum signo sanctae crucis confirmavi, eosque jussi ut mecum idem facerent.* The words suggest that Aethelberht made his cross, the others following his example with some such words as *consentiens subscripsi, iussus subscripsi.* Marculf's no. 17 records the donor's signature and that *per personas reliquas studuemus subscriptionibus roborari.* The fact that the document was attested by his "princes" accords with the signatures of the lay officers in B, a charter deriving from an independent MS. source. Together with the incipit, *Regnante*, and the late sixth-century character of the document from the Paris region from which that *incipit* was probably drawn, it supports the conclusion that D goes back to an authentic written grant of Aethelberht to the church at Rochester.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FLANDERS BEFORE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

By Philip Grierson, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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The subject of the paper which I am about to read is one that can reasonably be regarded as of only secondary interest.[1] During the later centuries of the Middle Ages, the relations between England and Flanders occupied a position of capital importance in the history of both countries. During the centuries that preceded the Norman Conquest, these relations were much less close than they were later to become, and correspondingly little is known about their character. But they are by no means devoid of interest, even if considered only as an introduction to the more important subject of the later relations between the two countries, and a study of their history is therefore not without justification. In the main, the period covered in this paper will be the two centuries before 1066. During almost the whole of this time, the counts of Flanders were masters of the region bounded by the Scheldt, the Canche,

[1] The only detailed study of Anglo-Flemish relations in the period covered by this paper is that of J. M. Toll, *Englands Beziehungen zu den Niederlanden bis 1154* (Historische Studien, Heft 145; Berlin, 1921). It forms a very useful collection of material, but is based rather too exclusively on the literary sources and is somewhat uncritical in their use. The early section (pp. 36–48) of E. Varenbergh's *Histoire des relations diplomatiques entre le comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre au moyen âge* (Brussels, 1874) is quite obsolete, but there are some useful details and observations in W. Kienast, *Die deutschen Fürsten im Dienste der Westmächte*, t.i. (Utrecht, 1924), pp. 42–5, and G. G. Dept, *Les influences anglaise et française dans le comté de Flandre au début du XIII^e siècle* (Ghent, 1928), pp. 13–16. There is naturally much valuable material in the works of Freeman and other writers dealing with the late Anglo-Saxon period.

and the sea, and I shall use the word "Flanders" as the equivalent of the county of Flanders at this date. This means that I shall include in my discussion the vassal counties of Boulogne, Saint-Pol, and Guines, as well as the regions of Artois and Saint-Omer which were separated from the county of Flanders by Philip Augustus.

The relations between England and Flanders were governed by the fact that Flanders, in this wide use of the word, was that part of the Continent which was closest to Britain. But the routes that were in use in the early Middle Ages differed considerably from those that are used to-day. Of the four chief harbours of this region, only one—Boulogne—goes back to Roman times, and up to the tenth century the Boulonnais and Ponthieu attracted nearly all the cross-channel traffic with Britain. The reason for this was that the dunes started at Calais and ran north-eastwards, and that the Plain of Flanders behind them was a country of forests and undrained fens and marshes; even in Roman times it had been one of the least developed parts of Gaul, and much of it had been invaded by the sea in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.[1] It offered in itself little or no attraction to travellers, and its communications with the interior were almost non-existent. It was crossed by only one Roman road of any importance, that connecting Oudenbourg, near the modern Ostend, with Tournai on the Scheldt.[2] Oudenbourg was ruined during the

[1] The standard authority on the historical geography of this region is R. Blanchard, *La Flandre* (Lille, 1906), who places (pp. 143–6) the inundation of the Plain of Flanders in the late fourth or the early fifth century. Blanchard (pp. 151–90) also gives a detailed and most valuable account, which must now be supplemented by the more recent work of A. Briquet, *Le littoral du nord de la France et son évolution morphologique* (Paris, 1930), of the evolution of the Flemish coastline from Roman times to the present day.

[2] Cf. V. Guichez, "Topographie des voies romaines de la Gaule belgique", in *Ann. de l'Acad. roy. d'arch. de Belgique*, xxxviii (1882), pp. 281–3. There were no doubt other minor roads and *diverticula* in Roman Flanders, but the lists and the map constructed by Guichez must be used with considerable caution. Traces also exist of a minor road connecting Oudenbourg with Antwerp; cf. J. Maertens, "L'identification

period of the barbarian invasions,[1] and the main line of harbours on the dunes—Calais, Dunkerque, Nieuport, Ostend—do not appear before the twelfth century. Almost our sole record of a landing on this coast during the intervening period is the statement of Theofrid of Echternach that St. Willibrord, in the seventh century, put in at Gravelines.[2] This is a manifest anachronism, based on the fact that it was Willibrord who was the patron of the church at this village. The biographer in question wrote only in the eleventh century, and his story does not gain in credibility from the fact that the slab of stone on which the saint miraculously voyaged from Ireland was exhibited in the church that was dedicated to him.[3] It is not till the tenth and eleventh centuries that the rise of Bruges, which was connected with the sea on the north by the broad channel of the Zwin, brought an end to the virtual isolation of the Plain of Flanders.[4]

The main routes to Britain in the early period ran across the Boulonnais, where the country presented no serious obstacles to hamper communications with the interior. Boulogne was in Roman times the chief port of embarkation, and was the focal point of a number of

de parties de la voie romaine d'Anvers vers la Mer du Nord", in the *Bull. de la Soc. d'hist. et d'arch. de Gand*, 35e année, 1927, pp. 45–57; the road clearly ran to Oudenbourg. There were also some minor roads connecting Cassel with various fishing villages on the coast; cf. the map in Briquet, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

[1] Tradition ascribed its destruction to Attila, and in the eleventh century many relics of the Roman occupation—inscriptions, pottery, ornaments, and so on—were still commonly found on the site; the walls, which were constructed of the famous black Tournai stone, were demolished and used by Count Baldwin V of Flanders (1036–67) for his buildings at Bruges (*Tractatus de ecclesia S. Petri Aldenburgensi*, c. 19, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Script.*, xv, 871–2).

[2] Theofrid of Echternach, *Vita S. Willibrordi*, c. 5 (in *Acta SS.*, 7 Nov. iii, 463–4; cf. p. 424). Cf. below, p. 82, n. 3.

[3] When I say that there were no harbours on the Flemish coast, I mean that there were no regular ports for merchants or other travellers.

[4] Bruges seems to have been connected with the sea by a southern channel as well. The "statio haud longe a castello Brugensi distans" where Emma landed in 1037 (see below, p. 96) was perhaps Oudenbourg.

important roads. One of these ran north-eastwards to Cassel, whence one could go eastwards by way of Wervicq, Tournai, and Escaupont to Bavai in Hainault, where one reached the main roads connecting Tongres and Cologne with the south. Another road ran almost due eastwards to Thérouanne, the capital of the Morini. From Thérouanne there were main roads running southwards to Amiens and south-eastwards to Arras and Cambrai, while a minor road, known in later times as the *voie de Leulène*, connected it with Sangatte on the coast by way of Guines.[1] The other two main roads that converged on Boulogne connected the city with the south. The chief route was that which ran to Amiens and thence to Reims, where it linked up with the road system of eastern Gaul, but there was also a less important route that followed the coast and ended up at Lillebonne, near the mouth of the Seine.[2]

This nexus of roads explains why the Boulonnais attracted nearly all the " through traffic " between Britain and the Continent. But the port of embarkation that was most in favour altered with the centuries. In Roman times Boulogne, at the mouth of the Liane, then a wide estuary extending as far inland as the modern village of Pont-de-Bricques, enjoyed a practical monopoly of communications with Britain. There was a certain amount of trade running directly from London and Colchester to the mouths of the Rhine and Maas,[3] and the lead route from the Mendips and the Midlands ran direct from Bittern

[1] See D. Haigneré, *Étude sur le Portus Itius de Jules César* (Paris, 1862), pp. 100–3. The Roman village lay somewhat to the west of the modern Sangatte and further out to sea (Briquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–5).

[2] Cf. E. Desjardins, *Géographie de la Gaule d'après la Table de Peutinger* (Paris, 1869). The road leading directly from Boulogne to Cassel is sometimes regarded as an error of draftsmanship on the part of the copyist of the Peutinger Table, but some remains of it have been found where it crossed the Aa near Watten (Briquet, *op. cit.*, p. 360).

[3] A votive tablet was put up at Westkapelle on the island of Walcheren by a British chalk merchant to the goddess Nehallenia in thanksgiving for the saving of his cargo (W. Brambach, *Corpus Inscript. Rhen.* (Elberfeld, 1867), no. 43; cf. E. Desjardins, *Géographie hist. et admin. de la Gaule romaine*, i (Paris, 1876), 397, n. 1).

(near Southampton) to the mouth of the Somme and to Lillebonne at the mouth of the Seine,[1] but otherwise, apart from fishing villages, there were no harbours save Boulogne [2] on this part of the coast of Gaul.[3] The monopoly enjoyed by this port is strikingly shown by the fact that when in May 360 Julian was anxious to prevent the news of his proclamation as emperor from reaching Lupicinus in Britain, he simply sent an agent to Boulogne with orders to prevent anyone from crossing the Channel without his permission.[4] But the prosperity of Roman Boulogne, seriously injured already by the disasters and the economic retrogression of earlier centuries, came to an end in the fifth century. There is no evidence that it succumbed to any direct barbarian attack; its walls no doubt saved it

[1] A pig of lead from the Mendips was found in 1883 at Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme (*Corpus Inscrip. Lat.*, xiii. ii. 3491), and another in 1840 of uncertain origin at Lillebonne (*ibid.*, 3222). Cf. R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (in *An economic survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. Tenney Frank, iii (Baltimore, 1937)), 43, and M. Besnier, "Le Commerce du plomb à l'époque romaine", in the *Revue archéologique*, 5e série, xiii (1921), 67–9.

[2] The accounts of Roman Boulogne and its relations with Britain are very numerous. The best general one is that of E. Hamy, "Boulogne dans l'Antiquité" (in *Boulogne-sur-Mer et la région boulonnaise. Ouvrage offert au . . . 28e Congrès de l'Association française pour l'avancement des sciences*, Boulogne, 1899, t. i.), but there is much valuable material in Desjardins, *Géographie hist.*, i. 348–90, in V. J. Vaillant, *Classis Britannica. Classis Samarica. Cohors I Morinorum* (Arras, 1888), and scattered through Camille Jullian's *Histoire de la Gaule*. Useful summaries are those by D. Haigneré in the *Dict. hist. et arch. du dépt. du Pas-de-Calais, Arr. de Boulogne*, i (Arras, 1880), 1–38, and by P. Héliot, *Histoire de Boulogne et du Boulonnais* (Lille, 1937), pp. 24–50.

[3] The *Notitia dignitatum* (ed. O. Seeck, Berlin, 1876, pp. 207–8; cf. the notes in E. Böcking's edition, fasc. v (Bonn, 1850), pp. 835–44) classifies "sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Belgicae Secundae" the following: "Equites Dalmatae, Marcis in litore Saxonico. Praefectus classis Sambricae, in loco Quartensi sive Hornensi. Tribunus militum Nerviorum, Portu Epatiaci." The identity of these places has been widely discussed, but without any certain conclusion having been reached; the *Portus Epatiacus* is usually identified with Boulogne, *Marcis* is more probably Marquise than Marck, and the third place is perhaps –reading *Quantensis* for *Quartensis*—Quentavic or some similar site at the mouth of the Canche (*Quantia*).

[4] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Gesta*, xx. 9 (ed. C. U. Clark, Berlin, 1910, i. 206).

during the great invasion of 407, when the territory of the Morini was raided by the Germans,[1] and the story of its destruction by Attila [2] is nothing but a legend. But with the abandonment of Britain by the Roman legions it lost the greater part of its military and administrative importance, and its doom was sealed by the Anglo-Saxon conquest of south-eastern Britain, which cut the essential trade routes on which it relied, and the Frankish conquest of northern Gaul, which cut it off from the continental hinterland. What had formerly been the second port of Gaul sank to the level of a mere fishing village, from which it was never to emerge till quite modern times. The estuary of the Liane, despite the mud-flats and sand-banks which were allowed to accumulate in its channels,[3] remained possible as an anchorage; it was there that Charlemagne stationed his fleet in 811,[4] and it was from Boulogne that a Viking fleet of 250 ships sailed against England in 892.[5] During the Merovingian and Carolingian periods it was no doubt occasionally used by travellers; the fact that King Caedwalla of Wessex, on his journey to Rome in 688, made a gift of 30 solidi to St. Wulmer for his abbey of Samer, close to the main Roman road some eleven miles south-east of Boulogne, suggests that it was at Boulogne that he landed in Gaul.[6] But this example is an isolated one, and

[1] Jerome, *Epistola cxxiii (xci) ad Geruchiam*, § 15 (ed. I. Hilberg (*Corpus script. eccles. lat.*, t. lvi), Vienna, 1918, p. 92. On the walls of Boulogne, see A. Blanchet, *Les enceintes romaines de la Gaule* (Paris, 1907), pp. 123–4.

[2] Mentioned in the tenth-century *Chronicon Vedastinum* (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Script.*, xiii. 679).

[3] On the silting-up of the Liane, see Briquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–3. The plan of the port of Boulogne in Roman times given in Desjardin's *Géographie hist.* (Planche xvii) is incorrect and quite misleading.

[4] *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 811; ed. F. Kurze, Hanover, 1895, p. 135.

[5] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a. 893 [= 892] (ed. C. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, i. 84).

[6] *Vita S. Vulmari*, c. 10 (Mabillon, *Acta SS. ord. S. Bened.*, III. i. (Paris, 1672), 236–7). The *Vita* dates from the ninth century (cf. L. Van der Essen, *Étude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique*, Louvain, 1907, pp. 413–14), and the tradition on

by the end of the sixth century it may be assumed that the bulk of what little cross-channel traffic that there was went by way of Quentavic, though the old route from the Solent to the mouth of the Seine must still have been the most convenient for travellers from the west of England; it was by this route that St. Willibald travelled when setting out on his pilgrimage [1] to Jerusalem in 720.

During the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, Quentavic [2] near the mouth of the Canche enjoyed the same position of almost unchallenged supremacy as Boulogne had done in Roman times, though Duurstede in Frisia was a more formidable rival than any port in this region had been to Boulogne, and a certain amount of trade no doubt still went by the Seine route.[3] But the bulk of the trade went by way of Quentavic, and the port enjoyed a practical monopoly of the passenger traffic; the route from Britain by Quentavic is described as the *via rectissima* to Rome in Eddi's *Vita S. Wilfridi*,[4] which was written in *c.* 710, and the neighbouring abbey of Saint-Josse was recognised as a regular halting-place for pilgrims.[5] It was

this point may well be genuine, though it is usually regarded with suspicion. Bede, who mentions (*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, v. 7; ed. C. Plummer, i. 292) Caedwalla's journey to Rome, does not indicate by what route he travelled.

[1] *Vita S. Willibaldi*, c. 3 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Script.*, xv. i. 91). He started from the mouth of the Hamble, in Hampshire.

[2] On Quentavic see E. Dramard, *Bibliographie géog. et hist. de la Picardie* (Paris, 1881), pp. 468–71; O. Fengler, "Quentowic, seine maritime Bedeutung unter Merowingern und Karolingern", in the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, xiii (1907), 91–107; and a note by L. Levillain in an article, "Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne", *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xci (1930), 24–9.

[3] Rouen was apparently also a commercial site of some importance during Merovingian and Carolingian times; cf. E. de Fréville, *Mémoire sur le commerce maritime de Rouen*, i (Rouen–Paris, 1857), 25 sq. But the evidence on the matter is very meagre.

[4] *Vita S. Wilfridi*, c. 25 (ed. B. Colgrave, Cambridge, 1927, p. 50). The Quentavic route was that followed by Theodore of Tarsus in 669 (Bede, *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 1; ed. Plummer, i. 203) and St. Boniface in 718 (Willibald, *Vita S. Bonifatii*, c. 5; ed. W. Levison, Hanover-Leipzig, 1905, p. 20).

[5] Lupus of Ferrières remarks that the *cella* of St. Josse was given by Charlemagne to Alcuin "ad elemosinam exhibendam peregrinis" (L. Levillain, *Correspondance de Loup de Ferrières*, i (Paris, 1927), no. 19, p. 104).

not till the ninth century that disaster overtook it. A large part of the town was burnt by the Vikings in 842,[1] and after 864 [2] it disappears from the literary sources, though money continued to be coined there by sovereigns up to the reign of Charles the Simple. The causes and date of its final disappearance are obscure. The *Annales Vedastini*,[3] which were composed at Arras and give full accounts of the movements of the Vikings, do not mention any attack on the town during the period which they cover (873–July 900), and their silence may be taken as decisive evidence of its immunity in these years. But in January 901 the monks of Saint-Josse arrived with their relics at Winchester in full flight from a Viking attack,[4] and although we have no French sources that are relevant we must assume a second destruction of Quentavic in the autumn or winter of 900. The destroyer was possibly a Northumbrian king named Cnut, for a number of his coins found in 1840 in the Cuerdale hoard [5] were minted at Quentavic, and although this hypothesis would render impossible the commonly accepted identification of Cnut

[1] *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 842 (ed. G. Waitz, Hanover, 1883, p. 28); Nithard, *Historiae*, iv. 3 (ed. P. Lauer, Paris, 1924, p. 124).

[2] Quentavic and Rouen appear in the Edict of Pitres (*cap. xii*) of 25 June 864 amongst the nine towns of Gaul which were to retain their mints (A. Boretius and V. Krause, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ii (Hanover, 1897), 315).

[3] Ed. B. de Simson, Hanover, 1909.

[4] The traditional date for the arrival of the relics in England (903) must be revised; for a justification of the date 901 and the sources referring to the event, see my forthcoming article, "Grimbald of St. Bertin's", in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*

[5] On the Cuerdale hoard and the coins of Cnut, see particularly E. Hawkins, "An account of coins and treasure found at Cuerdale", *Numismatic Chronicle*, v (1843), 1–48, 53–104, with the supplementary remarks of D. H. Haigh and A. de Longpérier on pp. 105–20; D. H. Haigh, "The coins of the Danish kings of Northumberland", *Archaeologia Aeliana*, N.S. vii (1876), 28–31, 49–52, 56–7; J. Rashleigh, "Remarks on the coins of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings of Northumberland", *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. ix (1869), 68–73; E. Hawkins, *Silver coins of England* (ed. R. L. Kenyon, London, 1876), pp. 80–7; C. F. Keary, *Cat. of A.-S. coins in the British Museum*, i (London, 1887), 201–30; and W. J. Andrew, "Buried treasure: some traditions, records, and facts", *British Numismatic Journal*, 1st ser., i (1905), 12–26.

with Guthred (died 895) it seems reasonable enough. He may have stayed a few years in the region, for the bulk of his money was minted at a place named *Cunnetti*, which has never been satisfactorily identified, but which may have been Contes, some twelve miles further up the Canche from Quentavic.[1] A few further extremely degenerate coins minted at Quentavic have also been found, which it is supposed were minted by the feudal counts of Ponthieu or Boulogne, but this is very doubtful; they may be nothing more than copies of the old Quentavic coinage.[2] In 938 an attempt to restore the port was made by Louis IV,[3] in whose policy the maintenance of close relations with England formed an important element; but it was unsuccessful, and the disappearance of Quentavic was made absolute by the same cause that had destroyed the prosperity of Boulogne: the silting up of the estuary on which the port was situated.[4] The old site was gradually engulfed in sand, and now lies several miles from the actual course of the Canche. In the tenth century the line of cross-channel

[1] The fact that Siefred, whose coins are closely allied with Cnut's and who was also king of Northumbria, never coined at *Cunnetti*, suggests strongly that this place was in France and not in England. Contes—the place is not actually mentioned in French sources before the twelfth century—was precisely the type of site favoured by the Vikings for their temporary camps in France: it lay on a river at just the point where this ceased to be navigable for sea-going ships, and it could be easily fortified—it was so in the later Middle Ages.

[2] Cf. F. Poey d'Avant, *Monnaies féodales de France*, iii (Paris, 1862), 363–70.

[3] Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 938 (ed. P. Lauer, Paris, 1905, p. 69): "Ludowicus rex maritima loca petens, castrum quoddam portumque supra mare, quem dicunt Guisum, restaurare nisus est." The identity of *Guisum* has been much discussed; Wissant, Guines, and Quentavic (*Wicus*) have all been suggested. The arguments of Levillain (*art. cit.*, p. 27, n. 2) in favour of Quentavic appear to me to be decisive. Quentavic is the only one of the three places to which the words *portus* and *restaurare* could reasonably be applied, and, as Levillain also points out (p. 25, n. 3, *ad fin.*), the name Wic has survived in the modern hamlet of Wis-ès-Maretz; the softening of the final letter from *c* to *s* may have begun by the tenth century, which would explain the form *Guisum*.

[4] Cf. Levillain, *art. cit.*, p. 25, n. 3. On the estuary of the Canche, see Briquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 sq.

traffic had thus to leave Quentavic, and move northwards to Wissant.

The harbour of Wissant [1] lay almost midway between Cap Gris-Nez and Cap Blanc-Nez, at the point where the English and French coastlines are closest (eighteen and a half miles) to one another. It was apparently formed by a breach made by the sea in the dunes that protected the coast.[2] The small region thus submerged provided a safe anchorage from the storms of the Channel, and at the spot where the Rieu de Herlen reached the sea the port of Wissant grew up. One can date its appearance with fair accuracy as the middle of the tenth century, for Wissant was situated in the parish of Sombres,[3] and in the Itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric (990) the landing-place was still known by the name of the parent village (*Sumeran*) and not by that of the recently formed harbour [4]; Wissant itself does not appear by name in a contemporary document till the second half of the eleventh century.[5] Its

[1] Wissant = Wit-sand, *white sand*; cf. the eleventh-century *Vita S. Vulganii*, which declares that the saint "appulit ad portum Witsant appellatum: qui videlicet locus ex albentis sabuli interpretatione tale sortitur vocabulum" (cap. 15; *Acta SS.*, 2 Nov. i. 572), and the early thirteenth-century *Historia comitum Ghisnensium* of Lambert of Ardres, which relates how "sanctus Pharo . . . apud Stronas [Estrouanne] Britannicum secus portum qui ab albedine arene vulgali nomine appellatur Witsant . . . construxit monasterium" (cap. 6; *Script.*, xxiv. 565–6). Haigneré, in the *Dict. hist. et arch. du dépt. du Pas-de-Calais, Arr. de Boulogne*, iii (Arras, 1882), 275, queried the accuracy of this popular etymology—cf. the false popular derivation of *Ashdown* in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, c. 37 (ed. W. H. Stevenson, p. 28)—and suggested an analogy with Ouessant (Ushant) in Brittany. But these names are in fact not identical, and the old etymology is accepted by A. Vincent, *Toponymie de la France* (Brussels, 1937), p. 157, no. 366.

[2] Briquet, *op. cit.*, pp. 268–70.

[3] Haigneré, *Étude sur le Portus Itius*, pp. 29–30.

[4] The Itinerary is printed by W. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan* (Rolls Series), pp. 392–5; the stopping-places in the county of Flanders are given as Sombres (*Sumeran*), Guines (*Gisne*), Thérouanne (*Teranburh*), Bruay (*Bruwaei*) and Arras (*Atherats*).

[5] Hariulf, in his *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier* (lib. iv, cap. xxiii; ed. F. Lot, Paris, 1894, p. 241), which was written c. 1088, describes how in 1068 Abbot Gervinus, intending to cross to England, "ad maris ingressum properavit, quem nominant plebeiales Guizant". Wissant is

proximity to the Kentish coast gave it the same advantage that is enjoyed to-day by Calais, and its position was enhanced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the rising commercial importance of Saint-Omer and Arras. While Bruges was the main harbour in the north of Flanders, Wissant occupied the same position in the south, though unlike Bruges it never developed any real industrial or commercial life of its own. It was connected with the interior by a route which joined the Roman road from Thérouanne to Sangatte near Guines.[1] It remained the chief port in this region till the rise of Calais towards the end of the twelfth century,[2] and, as in the case of Quentavic, it ultimately became unusable owing to the sand storms that destroyed its harbour.

The greater part of Flanders, therefore, lay even at the best of times off the main routes of cross-channel traffic, and its isolation was accentuated during the Merovingian period by the diversion of this traffic to Quentavic in Ponthieu. During these centuries the relations between England

mentioned by English and Norman writers of the twelfth century when referring to events of 933, 1036, and 1051 (cf. below, pp. 88, 96, 100), but in each of these cases, Wissant is probably no more than a guess on the part of the historian.

[1] The road connecting Wissant with Guines was probably post-Roman in structure. The same is true of another road, called the *chemin vert* or the *chemin de Landrethun*, which is said to have run directly from Wissant to Thérouanne, but whose existence is in reality rather doubtful. See Haigneré, *Étude sur le Portus Itius*, pp. 100–3; M. Robitaille, "Étude . . . sur le Portus Itius de Jules César", *Mém. de l'Acad. d'Arras*, xxxv (1863), 272–3; and A. Wauters, "Wissant l'ancien Portus Iccius", *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique*, 2e série, xlvii (1879), 130–2 (with map facing p. 111). There was also a coastal road, probably Roman in origin (Haigneré in the *Dict. hist.*, p. 300), connecting Wissant—or rather Sombres—with Boulogne; cf. the thirteenth-century itinerary published by L. Le Grand, "Itinéraire de Wissant à Lyon", *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, xlvii (1886), 197–8.

[2] On Wissant as an important place of embarkation in the later Middle Ages, see Wauters, *art. cit.*, pp. 134–61, and Haigneré in the *Dict. hist.*, pp. 278–90. It may be noted that the relationship of Wissant to Sombres was reproduced later by the relationship of Calais to Pétresse (Saint-Pierre); just as Wissant grew up as a landing-place in the parish of Sombres, a village which lay inland and was purely agricultural, so did Calais in the parish of Pétresse.

and Flanders were probably of the slightest. There was an important colony of Saxons in the Boulonnais,[1] in the region closest to England, and these may have maintained some intercourse with their compatriots across the Channel. But such relations have left no trace in history, and the theory that the Saxons of the Boulonnais played a part in the invasions of Britain remains unproved.[2] Flanders was converted to Christianity almost exclusively by Frankish missionaries, and Englishmen seem to have played no part in the work. The activity of St. Willibrord was confined to Frisia, and his alleged visits to Flanders, if they ever took place, were of the most transitory description.[3] It is not till we reach the Carolingian period that we find traces of English activity in the country, and even then it is mainly of an ecclesiastical character, though presumably the correspondence between Offa and Charles the Great [4]

[1] See A. de Loisne, "La colonisation saxonne dans le Boulonnais", *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de la France*, lxv (1906), 139–60, but his information is not exhaustive; see also G. Kurth, *La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France*, i (Mém. cour. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique, 1896), 530–7, and I. Taylor, *Words and Places* (ed. A. S. Palmer, London, 1909), pp. 93–8, 351–4. The date of the settlements is uncertain; some historians (e.g. Kurth, Des Marez) assign them to the time of Carausius in the third century; while others (e.g. De Loisne, Lot) ascribe them with much more probability to the fifth century.

[2] See J. Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* (Strassburg, 1905), pp. 566–89, and the searching criticism by F. Lot, "Les migrations saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande-Bretagne du iii^e au v^e siècle", *Revue Historique*, cxix (1915), 24–40.

[3] See G. H. Verbist, *Saint Willibrord* (Louvain, 1939), pp. 207–9. The fact that the churches at Gravelines, Middelkerke, and Wulpen were dedicated to St. Willibrord is no proof that he ever visited these places. Only for Clemskerke is there any serious presumption in favour of such a connection, for there the dedication of the church is reinforced by the fact that the name of the village embodies the Latin name (Clement) of the saint.

[4] See the *Gesta sanctorum patrum Fontanellensis coenobii*, xii. 2 (ed. F. Lohier and J. Laporte, Rouen–Paris, 1936, pp. 86–7), and *Epistola c* of Alcuin in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Epist. Karol. Aevi*, ii. 144–5). The "black stones" (*petrae nigrae*) mentioned in this letter were perhaps the so-called "Tournai marble", which was much used for making such objects as fonts at a later period (see C. H. Eden, *Black Tournai fonts in England*, London, 1909, and P. Rolland, "L'expansion tournaisienne au xi^e et xii^e siècles. Art et commerce de la pierre", in *Ann. de l'Acad. arch. de Belgique*, lxxii (1924), 175–219).

refers to Flemish as well as other Frankish merchants. Two abbots of St. Bavo's of Ghent in the eighth century have English names, and were possibly Englishmen, but nothing is known of their lives.[1] Alcuin was a close friend of Abbot Rado of St. Vaast's of Arras, and rewrote at his request the biography of the patron saint of the abbey.[2] An Englishman named Fridegis, chancellor of Louis the Pious and abbot of St. Martin's of Tours, was abbot of St. Bertin's at Saint-Omer from 820 to 834. His reorganisation there of monastic life, which involved a reduction of the number of monks from 83 to 60 and the substitution of canons for monks at St. Omer's, earned him the malediction of later chroniclers of the abbey.[3] Some of the monasteries of southern Flanders, notably St. Bertin's and St. Vaast's, were important centres of the so-called " Franco-Saxon " style of illumination and ornament,[4] but this is to be explained by their association with English or English-trained scholars of the school of Alcuin and not by any direct contact with England.

It is in fact only in the last two decades of the ninth century, during the reign of Count Baldwin II (879–918) of Flanders, that the history of Anglo-Flemish relations really begins. The way for the developments of this period was no doubt prepared by the historical accident that Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, who had been wife in succession to two English kings, Ethelwulf (died 858) and Ethelbald (died 860), was married in 863 to Baldwin I of Flanders.[5] Although we know that before she returned to

[1] See my article, " The Early Abbots of St. Bavo's of Ghent ", *Revue Bénédictine*, xlix (1937), 40–1, 42–3, 61.

[2] See *Epp. lxxiv* and *ccxcvi* of Alcuin (*Epist. Karol. Aevi*, ii. 115–17, 454–5), and the verses in *Poetae aevi Carolini*, i. 308–13.

[3] Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensis*, c. 47 (B. Guérard, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin*, Paris, 1840, pp. 74–5 ; better edn. in *Script.*, xiii. 614–15).

[4] See E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclés. en France. Tome iv* : *Les Livres, " Scriptoria " et Bibliothèques* (Lille, 1938), pp. 394–8, and the works there cited.

[5] On Judith, see particularly Toll, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–12, and H. Sproemberg, " Judith, Königin von England, Gräfin von Flandern ", *Revue*

the Continent she sold her possessions in England,[1] the fact that she was step-mother to King Alfred may have played a part in bringing him into communication with her own son, Baldwin II.

A similar function was probably performed by Grimbald of St. Bertin's.[2] Grimbald had been a monk in the time of Abbot Hugh (834–44), and during the middle decades of the century had apparently acquired some reputation as a competent administrator and a scholar, for in 886 he was brought from St. Bertin's to Reims by Archbishop Fulk, who had formerly been abbot of his Flemish monastery. His stay at Reims was a brief one, for in 886 or 887 he was invited to England by King Alfred, and in 889 he was actually offered the see of Canterbury on the death of Archbishop Ethelred. He assisted the king in his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and no doubt helped him in his other works of scholarship. Shortly before Grimbald's death (8 July 901) he co-operated with Alfred's successor Edward in the foundation of New Minster at Winchester, and though he died before the foundation was completed it was there that he was buried and his reputation for sanctity was preserved. It has been suggested that it was he who brought the manuscript known as the Utrecht Psalter to England. There is no very good evidence for this, but there is something to be said for connecting him with a ninth-century manuscript of Prudentius now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 223). The manuscript contains some notes relating to St. Bertin's which prove it to have been written at that abbey, as well as some scribbled dates referring to events that must all have happened there during Grimbald's lifetime, while the

belge de philologie et d'histoire, xv (1936), 397–428, 915–50. Her career is important in the history of Anglo-Frankish relations, but not, so far as we know, in that of those between England and Flanders.

[1] *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 862 (ed. Waitz, p. 56).

[2] For the justification of the statements about Grimbald in this paragraph, see my forthcoming article, "Grimbald of St. Bertin's", in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*

names of two kings in an Anglo-Saxon hand of the tenth century—the insertion can perhaps be dated 918–22—prove that it was in England soon after Grimbald's death. But the supposition that he brought the manuscript to this country is only a plausible conjecture; no doubt other Flemings besides Grimbald formed a part of the foreign element which Alfred encouraged and patronised at his court.[1]

More important than Grimbald's migration to England was the marriage between Alfred's youngest daughter Elftrudis (Ælfthryth) and Baldwin II. The marriage took place at some date between 893, when Asser describes Elftrudis as still living at her father's court and praises her learning,[2] and 899, the date of Alfred's death.[3] She was a beneficiary under her father's will, receiving the estates of Wellow (Isle of Wight), Steeple Ashton (Wilts.) and Chippenham (Wilts.),[4] but she probably disposed of these at some time to her brother, as they were not inherited by her children; Wellow and Chippenham were still royal manors at the date of the Domesday survey, while Ashton passed into the possession of the abbey of Romsey, probably by grant of King Edgar.[5] Two of her four children and one

[1] Asser, *Vita*, c. 76 (ed. Stevenson, p. 60).

[2] *Ibid.* c. 75 (pp. 57–9); he notes particularly her training, and that of the future Edward the Elder, in Saxon literature. On the date of the *Vita* (893–4), see *ibid.*, p. lxxiv. She must have been about twenty in 893, for Alfred's marriage took place in 868 (*ibid.*, c. 29; pp. 23–4), and since Elftrudis was the fourth of his surviving children (*ibid.*, c. 75; p. 57) she must have been born in 872 or later.

[3] That the marriage took place before Alfred's death we know from Ethelweard, *Chronicon* (H. Petrie and J. Sharpe, *Monumenta historica Britannica*, London, 1848, p. 499). This determination of the date of Baldwin II's marriage as 893–9 disposes of the legend current in all medieval Flemish historiography that Baldwin's son Arnulf I was a very great age—ninety is the one commonly given—when he died in 965.

[4] W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ii (London, 1887), 178; better edn. by Miss F. E. Harmer, *Select English historical documents of the ninth and tenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 17–18. The will does not mention Elftrudis by name, but we know from Asser that it was she who was the youngest of Alfred's three daughters.

[5] For Wellow, see the *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, i. 517; v. 274; for Steeple Ashton and Chippenham, see W. H. Jones, *Domesday for Wiltshire* (Bath, 1865), pp. 53, 9.

of her grandchildren were named after her side of the family; her second son Adelulf was called after her grandfather Ethelwulf and her elder daughter Ealhswith after her mother, the wife of King Alfred, while Egbert, the second son of Arnulf, was named after his more distant ancestor, King Egbert of Wessex (died 839).[1] When Baldwin II died on 10 September 918, his servants proposed to bury him with his father at St. Bertin's. But Elftrudis wished to be interred in the same grave as her husband, and he was therefore buried instead at St. Peter's of Ghent, since St. Bertin's was closed to women.[2] She is said to have died in 929, but the authority for the date is unsatisfactory.[3] According to a forged charter, dated the day after her husband's death, to St. Peter's of Ghent, she granted to this abbey her estates at Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich.[4] This donation appears to be a fiction of the eleventh century[5]; there is no evidence that she ever

[1] The names of her four children are given by Ethelweard, *Chronicon* (ed. Petrie and Sharpe, p. 499). Arnulf was presumably named after St. Arnulf of Metz, the ancestor of the Carolingian house, and Ermentrude after Baldwin II's grandmother, the wife of Charles the Bald. Egbert, the younger of Arnulf I's two sons, is mentioned in a charter of 10 July 853 (A. Van Lokeren, *Chartes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre au Mont-Blandin* (Gand, 1868), no. 22, pp. 28–9). By the marriage of one of Arnulf's daughters to Count Dirk II of Westfrisia, the name Egbert was passed on to Archbishop Egbert of Trier (died 993).

[2] Folcuin, *Gesta S. Bertini*, c. 103 (ed. Guérard, p. 140; better in *Scriptores*, xiii. 627).

[3] *Annales Blandinienses*, a. 929 (ed. P. Grierson, *Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, Brussels, 1937, p. 17). This notice is probably an invention of the eleventh-century copyist of the existing manuscript of the *Annales Blandinienses*. A forged epitaph of Elftrudis, probably composed in the eleventh century, was later current in St. Peter's of Ghent (A. Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata* (The Hague, 1732), i. 253). Unlike almost all the other Flemish sources, it gives her parentage correctly.

[4] The edition of this charter by Van Lokeren, *Chartes de Saint-Pierre*, t. i, no. 14, pp. 20–1, has been superseded by that of C. Vanden Haute, "Notes sur quelques chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Gand", in the *Bull. de la Comm. roy. d'hist. de Belgique*, lxxi. (1902), 411–14.

[5] It has been generally admitted that, though in its present form the diploma is a forgery, the grant is in its essentials a genuine one. This view is combated by M. J. D'hondt in an article to appear in the *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*. His reasoning is based mainly on the fact that the charter of the future King Edward the Confessor of 1016

possessed the estates in question,[1] and the original grant of Lewisham and the other manors in England to St. Peter's appears to have been made by King Edgar in 964.[2]

The marriage of Elftrudis with Baldwin II, which was the first of a whole series of alliances between English princesses and continental rulers,[3] had no doubt a special political significance in view of the common sufferings of England and Flanders at the hands of the Vikings. But our total ignorance of the history of Flanders during the last eighteen years of Baldwin's reign makes it impossible to say whether there was any formal alliance between the two countries. Baldwin died in 918, and his dominions were divided between his two sons; Adelulf, the younger, inherited the Boulonnais and Ternois and the abbey of St. Bertin's, while Arnulf, the elder, inherited the remainder of the marquisate. Both of them remained in close contact with their cousin Athelstan (925–39). At some date between 925 and 933 Adelulf headed an embassy from Hugh the Great to the English king asking for his sister Eadhild in marriage, and bringing wonderful spices and jewels and such treasures as the sword of Constantine and the spear

(see below, p. 95) makes no mention of Elftrudis, and that the charter of Edgar of 964 (see below, p. 90) only does so in a passage that is an evident interpolation, while in the rest of the act it is assumed that the grant of the property is a fresh one. I am indebted to the kindness of M. D'hondt for permission to cite his unpublished article on this point. In "The translation of the relics of St. Amalberga to St. Peter's of Ghent", *Revue Bénédictine*, li (1939), 305–6, I wrongly assumed that there was a genuine charter of 11 September 918, and my reasoning on this point is therefore invalid, though my general conclusion on the abbacy of Robert holds good.

[1] One could of course argue that Elftrudis might have exchanged the estates she inherited from her father for Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich, whose position in Kent would be more convenient to her than estates elsewhere in England after she became Countess of Flanders. But if the original grant was made by King Edgar this reasoning is superfluous.

[2] See below, p. 90.

[3] Five of the daughters of Elftrudis' brother, Edward the Elder, were married to foreign princes, Eadgifu I to Charles the Simple, Eadhild to Hugh the Great, Eadgyth to Otto the Great, Eadgifu to Louis, *princeps* of Aquitaine, and Aelfgifu to Conrad the Pacific of Burgundy.

of Charles the Great as presents to the king.[1] In 933 Athelstan's brother Edwin was drowned in mysterious circumstances in the Channel; his body was washed up on the Flemish coast, and it was his cousin Adelulf who arranged for his burial with fitting honours at St. Bertin's.[2]

With the accession of Louis IV in 936 the relations between England and Flanders were merged in those between England and the West Frankish kingdom. Louis, the son of the luckless Charles the Simple, had been brought up in exile at Athelstan's court, and looked to Athelstan for support against his ambitious magnates. Since the maintenance of good relations with Arnulf was an essential element in the continuance of free communication with England, the Count of Flanders was thus thrown into close contact with the French Crown.[3] When Louis landed at Boulogne early in 936, Arnulf was one of those who were there to welcome him,[4] and Louis' presence at Saint-Omer in August 937 is probably to be connected with his English policy.[5] The following year Arnulf co-operated

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, ii, 135 (Rolls series, i. 149–51). William's source was a lost poem on the reign of Athelstan. The mission must have taken place between 22 March 925, the date of the death of Hugh's first wife, daughter of Rotilda of Chelles, and 13 November 933, that of Adelulf's death.

[2] Folcuin, *Gesta*, c. 107 (ed. Guérard, p. 145; *Script.* xiii, 629); *A.-S. Chronicle*, a. 933 (ed. Plummer, i. 107). Folcuin, who gives Edwin the royal title, distinctly implies that Edwin was in flight from England, but that his death was accidental. This no doubt is the true story, but it was embroidered by later legend. Simeon of Durham (*Historia regum*, a. 933; Rolls series, ii. 93) declares that Edwin was drowned by the orders of Athelstan, and William of Malmesbury (*Gesta regum*, ii. 139; Rolls series, i. 156–7) has a long tale of how he was sent to sea in an open boat and committed suicide by leaping overboard, and how the king repented and did penance for seven years for his crime.

[3] Louis and Arnulf were cousins through their common descent both from Charles the Bald and King Alfred.

[4] Folcuin, *Gesta*, c. 102 (ed. Guérard, p. 138; *Script.* xiii. 626). P. Lauer (*Le règne de Louis IV* (Paris, 1900), p. 12, n. 7) disputes the value of this testimony on the ground that Adelulf (and not Arnulf) is described as being present, while he died in 933, but that *Adalolfus* is only a slip for *Arnulfus* is proved by the description of him as *markisus*, and the evidence is perfectly valid.

[5] This is the suggestion of Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

with him in his attempt at the restoration of Quentavic.[1] In 939, when the count of Flanders captured Montreuil, he sent the wife and sons of Count Herluin of Ponthieu, who had been made prisoners, for safe-keeping to Athelstan.[2] But later came the strange incident of the English fleet, sent to help Louis against the rebel magnates, ravaging the Flemish coast.[3] The cause of this has never been satisfactorily explained. Freeman suggested that Athelstan foresaw Arnulf's coalition with the rebels later in the year and hoped to prevent it [4]; while the theory of the Danish scholar Steenstrup was that the initiative was taken by the English sailors and that the attack was made on the Danes settled along part of the Flemish seaboard.[5] But, although it seems clear that the attack was unauthorised,[6] it led to an abrupt change in Flemish policy; Arnulf joined the rebels against Louis IV,[7] and during the rest of his reign, though we have plenty of evidence for continued relations between England and Flanders, we have no more evidence of friendly connections between the English and Flemish courts. The reception of St. Dunstan in Flanders argues, in fact, the existence of hostile relations.

Intercourse between the religious establishments of the two countries was at this period fairly frequent. St. Bertin's, because of its geographical proximity to the coast, appears to have taken the lead; so much so that in 944 the majority of the monks of the abbey, objecting to the reforms of St. Gerard of Brogne, fled to King Edmund,

[1] Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 938 (ed. Lauer, p. 69); Richer, *Historia*, ii. 8 (ed. R. Latouche (Paris, 1930), i. 140).

[2] Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 939 (p. 72); Richer, *Historia*, ii. 12 (t. i. p. 146).

[3] Flodoard, *Annales*, a. 939 (p. 73). Cf. Richer, *Historia*, ii. 16 (p. 152).

[4] E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, i (3rd edn.), 203, n. 3.

[5] J. Steenstrup, *Normandiets Historie* (Copenhagen, 1925), p. 101.

[6] It is suggested by Flodoard's phrase, "nulloque negotio propter quod venerant peracto".

[7] Arnulf's adhesion to the rebel cause is related by Flodoard immediately after his account of the attack on Flanders.

who settled them at St. Peter's of Bath.[1] Sixteen years later, in 961–2, Adelulf, the abbot-elect of St. Bertin's, was sent by Arnulf on a prolonged mission to England.[2] But the exile of St. Dunstan to Flanders in 956[3] brought into prominence the abbey of St. Peter's of Ghent, where the future archbishop stayed for nearly two years[4]; the grant of Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich by King Edgar to St. Peter's in 964 was made at his request.[5] It was through Dunstan that the monastic reform movement of Lotharingia and Flanders, inaugurated by St. Gerard of Brogne, came to exercise an important influence on the similar movement in England. It is true that it did not originate it, for Dunstan had reformed Glastonbury before he was driven into exile, but St. Peter's of Ghent had been one of the first houses reformed by St. Gerard in Flanders, and Dunstan's residence there for the best part of two years must have profoundly influenced both his outlook and his methods. In both Flanders and England

[1] Folcuin, *Gesta*, c. 107 (ed. Guérard, pp. 144–5; *Script.* xiii. 628–9). Folcuin has written "Athelstan" in mistake for "Edmund"; he attributes the cordiality of the reception of the monks to Edmund's gratitude for the decent burial accorded to Edwin in 933. Folcuin describes the monks who migrated as the *maior pars* of the community, and says that only ten remained behind. If the numbers remained what they had been a century earlier (see above, p. 83), this last figure would imply a migration of about 50 monks, but they were no doubt much reduced and the true figure is probably between 20 and 30. See also below, p. 108.

[2] Folcuin, *Gesta*, c. 110 (ed. Guérard, pp. 153–4; *Script.* xiii. 631–2).

[3] *A.-S. Chron.* (ed. Plummer, i. 112). Dunstan returned to England in 957 or 958, more probably in 957, since he seems to have been consecrated bishop on 21 October of this year (Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, Introduction, pp. lxxxix-xci).

[4] No details have survived concerning the exile of Dunstan in Flanders; see the brief statements in Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 34, 59–60, 101, 193. The charter of Edgar (see next note) suggests that Dunstan practically ruled St. Peter's of Ghent as abbot, but this is no doubt an exaggeration.

[5] Edgar's diploma is in Van Lokeren, *Chartes de Saint-Pierre*, no. 38, pp. 40–2. It has been seriously interpolated and tampered with; see Oppermann, *Die älteren Urkunden des Klosters Blandinium*, pp. 101–4, and the forthcoming article of M. D'hondt (cf. above p. 86, n. 5). According to M. D'hondt, the interpolations consist of the references to Mottingham and Coombe and the donation of Elftrudis; they were made in the thirteenth century to support the contested claims of the abbey to Coombe.

the reform proceeded on closely parallel lines : the expulsion of canons in favour of monks, the maintenance of episcopal and to some extent of lay control, and the enforcement of the Rule of St. Benedict as modified to meet the circumstances of the time. When English monastic customs were codified, apparently by Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester, in the famous *Regularis concordia*, monks from Ghent were called upon to assist in the work.[1] It is even possible that Abbot Womar, who had received Dunstan at St. Peter's, may have helped in person ; we know at least that he asked for the prayers of the monks of New Minster, and apparently visited England,[2] and that the date of his death (980) was entered in the Abingdon Chronicle,[3] which was particularly connected with St. Ethelwold.

After Dunstan's appointment as archbishop we still find him in relations with Ghent, and a letter to him from Abbot Wido of St. Peter's (980–6) has survived.[4] Count Arnulf II of Flanders (died 988) looked to him to keep Flemish interests in view at the English court,[5] and the archbishop is said to have visited St. Bertin's on his journey

[1] See the preface to the *Regularis concordia* (Migne, *Patrol. latina*, cxxxvii. 476 ; better edition by W. S. Logeman, *De consuetudine monachorum*, in *Anglia*, xiii (1891), 368.

[2] W. de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae* : *Register and martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey* (Hampshire Record Society, 1892), p. 24. Plummer (*Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii. 169) concluded from this that Womar resigned his abbey at Ghent and retired to Winchester, an idea which is quite without foundation (Toll, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–5).

[3] *A.-S. Chronicle*, a. 981 [= 980] (ed. Plummer, i. 124).

[4] Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 380–1 ; the dates are those of Wido's abbacy.

[5] See his letter in *ibid.*, pp. 359–61. It is not clear whether Arnulf I or his grandson was the author of the letter ; the tone and the reference to Dunstan's exile suggest the former, but the fact that the envoys of the count are instructed to ask the archbishop for an introduction to the king seems to imply that a new reign (that of Edward II or Ethelred II) had begun in England, in which case only the younger Arnulf could be the writer. Stubbs (p. 359, n. 2) ascribes it to Arnulf I, and connects it with the mission of Adelulf to England in 961. In my view Arnulf II is more probable, since all the other letters regarding Dunstan in the same manuscript (Cotton Tiberius A. xv ; printed by Stubbs, pp. 359–90) that can be precisely dated belong to the decade 980–90.

to Rome for the pallium in 960.[1] He is also known to have been friendly with Abbot Fulrad of St. Vaast's.[2] This last relationship is an interesting one, for St. Vaast's played a not unimportant part in the formation of the coronation *ordines* of France and England.[3] The manuscript known as the "Leofric Missal", so-called because it belonged in the eleventh century to Bishop Leofric of Exeter (died 1072), was written at St. Vaast's towards the close of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, and there seems good reason to believe that it was brought to England by Dunstan. At the same time, the so-called Sacramentary of Fulrad (Rathold), which was written at St. Vaast's before 986, contains one of the best copies of the *ordo* used in the coronation of King Edgar in 973, which became in the twelfth century the basis of the coronation ritual of France. The Edgar *ordo*, the compilation of which is generally ascribed to Dunstan, is based on a number of coronation *ordines*, some of them taken from the Leofric Missal or a common source, which were used in the West Frankish kingdom in the ninth century. The inter-relationship of these various *ordines* is still under discussion, and there are many points that still require elucidation. But it is

[1] John of Ypres, *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini*, xxix. 1 (*Scriptores*, xxv. 777); but since he wrote in the fourteenth century and there is no mention of the matter in Folcuin it is perhaps doubtful, though it was an accepted tradition in the twelfth century: the *Continuatio Burburgensis* of the *Chronicon* of Sigebert of Gembloux (*Script.*, vi. 458) mentions the names of SS. Dunstan and Anselm as the predecessors in exile of Thomas Becket at St. Bertin's.

[2] Fulrad mentions the fact in his letter to Aethelgar (see below, p. 93).

[3] See J. A. Robinson, "The Coronation Order in the tenth century", in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, xix (1917), 56–72; a long series of works by P. E. Schramm, the chief of which are two articles, "Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen von 878 bis um 1000", *Zeitscrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, liv (1934), Kan. Abt., xxiii. 117–242, and "Ordines Studien II, III", *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, xv (1938), 3–55, 305–91, and his *History of the English Coronation* (tr. L. G. Wickham Legg; Oxford, 1937); and P. L. Ward, "The Coronation Ceremony in Mediaeval England", in *Speculum*, xiv (1939), 160–78. This last article modifies in certain important particulars the views of Schramm on the date and provenance of some of the texts.

difficult to believe that the necessary material for the compilation of the Edgar *ordo* would have been available in England, while it might quite well have been available at St. Vaast's, since this abbey had had particularly close relations with Charles the Bald and was the recipient of a gift of a number of liturgical manuscripts from Queen Ermentrude.[1] It has always been assumed, though without any real proof, that the Edgar *ordo* was specifically produced for the coronation of 973. But there is no evidence that it was not used for earlier coronations, and it is not impossible that Dunstan may have composed it during the enforced leisure of his Flemish exile in 956–7.

Throughout the second half of the tenth century our evidence of Anglo-Flemish intercourse is reasonably abundant. In a manuscript in the Cottonian collection a copy has been preserved of a whole mass of correspondence between English and Flemish prelates that can be dated between about 980 and 990. Besides the two letters of Arnulf II and Wido of Ghent to St. Dunstan that have already been mentioned, the collection contains a letter from an unnamed English ecclesiastic to Arnulf II, asking the count to return an evangeliary which he had recently purchased but which had been stolen in England,[2] a letter from Abbot Fulrad of St. Vaast's to Dunstan's successor Æthelgar,[3] and letters from Abbot Odbert of St. Bertin's

[1] Guimann's list of the treasure of St. Vaast's in the late twelfth century includes "textus evangeliorum aurei vel argenti sex, horum tres . . . dedit Ermentrudis uxor Caroli" (E. Van Drival, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vaast rédigé au xii^e siècle par le moine Guiman*, Arras, 1875, p. 111), and she may have been the donor of other manuscripts as well.

[2] Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 361–2. Stubbs regards Arnulf I as the recipient of the letter, and this view is supported by the references to the count's ecclesiastical activities, but these are for the most part common form, and on the general consideration of the date of the other letters in the collection (see above, p. 91, n. 5) I think Arnulf II is more likely. The reference in the letter to a "mulierculam captam a Danis vestris", which is evidence of the piratical dispositions of the Danes settled in Flanders, possibly explains the type of incident that may have caused the raid of the English fleet on Flanders in 939 (see above, p. 89).

[3] Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 383–4. The date is 988–90.

to Æthelgar and to his successor Sigeric.[1] These letters mention casually the names of many minor ecclesiastics who seem to have been quite accustomed to travelling backwards and forwards between the two countries,[2] and allude to the gifts made by Dunstan and his successors to Flemish monasteries. Flanders was often visited by Englishmen, and England by Flemings. As early as *c.* 940 an Englishman is said to have come to help in the reconstruction of the abbey of St. Bavo's at Ghent as a result of a vision seen in his own country.[3] At about the same date we hear of an Englishman named Electus stealing the relics of St. Bertulf, which had been brought for safety to Boulogne during the Viking invasions, with the intention of selling them to Athelstan, who had a great reputation as a collector of such objects.[4] In 982 or 985 an English nun named Teta induced the abbot of San Pancrazio at Rome to send to the abbey of St. Bavo's some relics of St. Pancras; she also presented it with a number of other relics on her own account.[5] English pilgrims passed regularly through Saint-Omer.[6] We hear also of Flemings at

[1] Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 384–5, 388–9. The second letter mentions that Æthelgar, when travelling to Rome for his pallium, had stayed at St. Bertin's on both the outward and the return journey, and invites Sigeric to do the same; it must therefore have been written in 990. Stubbs, *ibid.*, p. 389, n. 2, remarks that Sigeric, as his Itinerary shows, did not comply. But the Itinerary only refers to the return journey; Sigeric may have stayed at St. Bertin's on the way out.

[2] Odbert's letters mention two clerks named Richar and Sigebert, and a monk of St. Bertin's named Grimwald, who is being sent to England, and Wido's mentions a monk of St. Peter's of Ghent with the very English name of Leofsin, who has been sent on a mission to Dunstan. There was a monk at St. Bertin's between 944 and 961 with the English-sounding name of Adalsige (Folcuin, *Gesta*, c. 111; *Script.* xiii. 633).

[3] *Miracula S. Bavonis*, i. 9 (*Script.*, xv. 594). The *Miracula* date from *c.* 1000, but their information is usually trustworthy.

[4] *Vita S. Bertulfi*, c. 24–7 (*Script.*, xv. 635–6); *Sermo in translatione SS. Gudwali et Bertulfi* (in *Acta SS.*, 6 June i. 742–3). Both these works date from the second half of the eleventh century, and are most untrustworthy; cf. Oppermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–9.

[5] *Neues Archiv*, viii (1883), 376. The indications of the date do not agree. The *Annales S. Bavonis* (in *Script.*, ii. 188) place the event in 985.

[6] We have already seen the cases of Archbishops Dunstan, Æthelgar, and Sigeric. The *Miracula S. Bertini*, c. 4 (*Script.*, xv. 511), which date

the court of King Edgar (died 975),[1] and in the reign of Ethelred II, in regulations dealing with the market dues of London, Flemings are mentioned in company with Normans and Frenchmen and men of Ponthieu as frequenting the port, and provision is made for them to exhibit their wares and pay toll on them.[2]

During the early part of the eleventh century we lose track of Anglo-Flemish intercourse; possibly it was somewhat diminished as a result of the disorders of the reign of Ethelred II and the creation of the Anglo-Danish Empire, which brought England into closer relations with Scandinavia. But we still hear of casual visits of English magnates to Flanders. In 1016 the youthful Edward the Confessor, then living in exile in Normandy, spent Christmas at Ghent, and promised to restore the English possessions of St. Peter's if and when he should become king.[3] In 1026 Cnut visited St. Bertin's on his famous pilgrimage to Rome, and made rich presents to the abbey.[4] But after Cnut's death in 1035 the situation underwent a sudden change, and the relations between Flanders and England suddenly and for the first time became a matter of almost primary importance to both countries. In the three-cornered struggle between the Danes, the Normans, and the house of Godwine for the English crown that was to occupy the foreground of English history during the next thirty years,

from about the year 1000, allude to a monk setting out for Rome who "iunxit se Saxonibus ultramarinis Romam pergentibus", and evidently passing through the town. At Langres the party joined up with a caravan of merchants from Verdun on the way to Spain.

[1] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, ii. 148 (Rolls series, i. 165).

[2] F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903), i. 232 (*a.d.* 991–1002).

[3] Van Lokeren, *Chartes de Saint-Pierre*, no. 96, pp. 72–3; the act is dated 25 December 1016, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. Its existence settles decisively the much disputed question of the relative ages of Edward and his brother Alfred; if the latter was, as some authorities declare, the elder of the two, it is inconceivable that Edward would have granted a charter which anticipates his own accession to the throne.

[4] [*Cnutonis regis gesta sive*] *Encomium Emmae*, ii. 20 (ed. G. H. Pertz, Hanover, 1865, pp. 26–7).

Flanders was to be the regular resort of political refugees whom the fortunes of the struggle had driven into exile, and was to form the normal base from which they were to intrigue for their return to England. Count Baldwin V of Flanders, allied by marriage ties and bonds of friendship with Emma, with the house of Godwine, and with William of Normandy, was necessarily implicated in the struggle.

Baldwin V's first contact with English affairs came through the unlucky Alfred, the second son of Emma by her first husband Ethelred. In 1036 he passed through Flanders on his way from Normandy to England, and Baldwin offered him the loan of some troops to act as his bodyguard against possible enemies. But the atheling declined the kindly suggestion, and took with him only a few men from the Boulonnais on the disastrous expedition that was to end in his own blinding and death.[1] In the winter of 1037 King Harold drove his step-mother Emma into exile. Rather surprisingly, she did not go to Normandy, in spite of her Norman blood. This was partly no doubt because that country was in a state of turmoil during the early years of Duke William's minority, but it was also partly because her affections were centred on Harthacnut, her son by Cnut, and she did not wish to identify herself with the claims of Edward, her son by Ethelred, who was still in Normandy. Instead she took refuge in Flanders, at the court of Baldwin V, where she was magnificently received by the count [2] and his countess Adela and given a splendid dwelling-place at Bruges.[3]

[1] *Encomium Emmae*, iii. 4 (pp. 31–2). The Norman sources of the twelfth century give Wissant as the starting-place of the expedition (cf. Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i (3rd edn.), 490, n. 2), but the references in the *Encomium* to the *fines Flandriae* and the men of Boulogne suggests that it may rather have been Boulogne.

[2] Her niece Judith, daughter of Richard II of Normandy, was his stepmother. The countess Adela had also married, as her first husband, Richard III of Normandy.

[3] *A.-S. Chronicle* (C and E), a. 1037 (ed. Plummer, i. 160, 161); *Encomium Emmae*, iii. 7 (p. 35). The account of Bruges given by the

There she sent for her son Edward, who dutifully came to visit her, but he naturally showed no relish for an expedition to England that could only be in the interests of his half-brother, and he soon afterwards returned to Normandy.[1] In the autumn of 1038 Harthacnut, having made terms with Magnus of Norway, was free to come to his mother's aid and settle accounts with Harold over the succession in England. He spent the winter of 1039–40 with his mother at Bruges, collecting ships for the projected invasion. By the spring of 1040 sixty ships had been got together and all was ready, but before they sailed came the news of Harold's death (17 March) and the arrival at Bruges of an embassy, led by Ælfweard, bishop of London, to offer the crown to Harthacnut. He and his mother set sail from Flanders in the month of June; they landed on the 17th at Sandwich, and Harthacnut was duly crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury.[2] But he only lived for two years, and on his death (8 June 1042) he was succeeded by Edward the Confessor.

During almost the whole of the following decade the relations between the English and Flemish courts were most unfriendly. Emma and Harthacnut had no doubt done much during their residence at Bruges to prejudice Baldwin against Edward, and the count was in consequence prepared to welcome political exiles of any description who had been driven out of England. When Gunhild, the niece of Cnut, was banished with her two sons Hemming and Thurkil in 1045, she remained for some time at Bruges

Encomiast is practically our earliest evidence of the importance of the place; cf. F. L. Ganshof, "Iets over Brugge gedurende de preconstitutioneele periode van haar geschiedenis", *Nederlandsche Historiebladen*, i (1938), 284. The *statio haud longe a castello Brugensi* where she landed was perhaps Oudenbourg. This is the first time we hear of any port in the region of Flanders proper.

[1] *Encomium Emmae*, iii. 8 (pp. 35–6).

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 8–13 (pp. 36–8); *A.-S. Chronicle* (C, E), a. 1039, 1040 (ed. Plummer, i. 160, 161). Cf. also Adam of Bremen, *Gesta episcoporum Hammaburgensium*, ii. 72 (*Script.*, vii. 332), and the *Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis*, c. 85 (Rolls Series, pp. 149–50).

before going on to Denmark,[1] and the constable Osgod Clapa, the head of the Danish faction, probably followed the same course the next year.[2] Swegen, son of Earl Godwine, likewise spent the winter of 1046–47 at Bruges while on his way to Denmark after his banishment for having seduced the abbess of Leominster.[3] Baldwin even went so far as to throw open his harbours to pirates. In 1048 two Viking chiefs, Lothen and Yrling, made a sudden raid on the English coast, and landed and plundered in Kent and Essex and the Isle of Wight. Before the king and Godwine could collect ships enough to pursue them they had taken refuge in the harbours of Flanders, where they disposed of their spoil before sailing back to the north.[4]

Edward was not slow to retaliate for these injuries. In 1049 the war between Henry III and the Count of Flanders, who was the chief ally of the rebel Duke Godfrey of Upper Lorraine, was reaching its crisis, and the Emperor, whose first wife Gunhild (died 1038) had been Edward's half-sister, appealed for help to the English king. According to the English account, Edward was asked to collect his fleet and watch the Channel in case Baldwin should attempt to escape by sea from the chastisement of the imperial arms. It is scarcely conceivable that under any circumstances Baldwin would have fled from Flanders, and it is more likely that the massing of ships in the Channel and the menace of an attack on the Flemish seaboard were designed to divert his energies and prevent him from concentrating his troops for the war in Lotharingia. In any case, Edward collected a fleet and kept watch at Sandwich while Henry delivered his attack on Baldwin by land ; only when Henry

[1] *A.-S. Chron.*, (D), a. 1045 (p. 165) ; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, a. 1044 (ed. Thorpe, i. 199).

[2] *A.-S. Chron.*, (C) 1046, (E) 1044, (D) 1047 (pp. 164, 165). Freeman refers to Osgod Clapa's visit to Flanders as if it were a fact, when really it is only a plausible conjecture.

[3] *Ibid.*, (C) 1046, (E) 1045 (pp. 164, 165–6).

[4] *Ibid.*, (C) 1048, (E) 1046 (pp. 166–7).

had been victorious and Baldwin had come to terms did he venture to disband his ships.[1] But Baldwin himself had fallen back for allies on the Danish exiles, and Edward had scarcely dismissed his Mercian contingents before he heard that Osgod Clapa was lying with twenty-nine ships off Wulpen, not far from Bruges. The king hastily recalled as many ships as he could, but in the event they proved unnecessary. The greater part of the invading fleet was destroyed in a storm after a diversion against Essex, and Osgod had nothing to do but to send for his wife from Bruges, where he had left her before sailing, and return to Denmark.[2]

It was at about this time that Baldwin began to come into close contact with the house of Godwine. Swegen had already spent the winter of 1046–47 at Bruges, and in 1049 he was back again, banished for the murder of his brother Beorn.[3] Once again he wintered in Flanders under Baldwin's protection, till in March 1050 his outlawry was reversed and Bishop Ealdred of Worcester crossed to Bruges and brought about his reconciliation with the king.[4] Soon afterwards, in 1050 or 1051, Judith, daughter of Baldwin IV by his second marriage to a daughter of Duke Richard II of Normandy and so half-sister to Baldwin V, became the bride of Tostig, the third son of Godwine,[5] and when in

[1] *Ibid.*, (C) 1049, (D) 1050 (pp. 166, 167). Cf. also Florence of Worcester, *Chron.*, a. 1049 (p. 201). Baldwin submitted to Henry in September at Aachen.

[2] *A.-S. Chron.*, (C) 1049, (D) 1050 (pp. 168, 169); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1049 (p. 202). These various accounts are difficult to follow and not wholly compatible with one another. I have made the best I can of the story. Cf. Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii. 230.

[3] *A.-S. Chron.*, (C) 1049, (D) 1050, (E) 1046 (pp. 168–70); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1049 (pp. 202–3). On the whole story see Freeman, *op. cit.*, ii (3rd edn.), 100–10, and Plummer, *op. cit.*, ii. 229–31. Swegen, like Osgod, probably set out from Flanders on his expedition to England in 1049.

[4] *A.-S. Chron.*, (E) 1046, (p. 171); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1049 (p. 203).

[5] Judith's parentage, a matter on which the sources are in extreme confusion, was elucidated by Freeman, *op. cit.*, iii (2nd edn.), 663–5; cf. pp. 656–8. Our only evidence for the date of the marriage is given by the rather untrustworthy *Vita Aedwardi* (ed. H. R. Luard, *Lives of*

September 1051 the great earl and his whole house were banished, Flanders was their natural place of refuge. Godwine, his wife, and his two sons Swegen and Tostig all fled to Bruges, where, like previous exiles, they wintered at Baldwin's court.[1] Baldwin is alleged to have written to Edward on the earl's behalf,[2] and no doubt assisted Godwine in collecting a fleet in the Yser with which to invade England. On 22 June the earl set sail, hoping to land in Kent, but Edward on his side had gathered ships to oppose him, and although the forces were separated by a storm Godwine judged it unsafe to risk a landing and put back to Flanders.[3] His second attempt was more successful, and on 15 September a meeting of the Witan at London reversed the outlawry passed on Godwine and his household a year before. Only one member of the family had no share in the restoration. Swegen, instead of joining his father's expedition, had set out from Bruges on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died at Constantinople on the way home.[4]

After Godwine's restoration in 1052 we hear nothing more of hostilities between England and Flanders for thirteen years. Harold, who succeeded his father as virtual ruler of England in 1053, maintained friendly relations with Baldwin; in November 1056 he was actually at Saint-

Edward the Confessor (Rolls Series), p. 404), which declares that it took place about the time of Godwine's exile. It was certainly previous to this event, since the *A.-S. Chron.*, (D) 1052 (p. 175), refers to Tostig's wife as going into exile with the rest of the family.

[1] *A.-S. Chron.*, (C) 1051, (D) 1052, (E) 1048 (pp. 172, 175–6, 176); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1051 (pp. 206–7). Godwine's second son Harold fled to Ireland. The account in the *Vita Aedwardi* (pp. 402–3, 404) is curious; it asserts that Baldwin and Godwine had been former allies and that Baldwin had always been a good friend to the English.

[2] *Vita Aedwardi* (p. 405). It can scarcely be supposed that Baldwin's plea can have carried much weight, unless, as Freeman (*op. cit.*, ii (3rd edn.), 318) suggests, the recent marriage of his daughter Matilda to William of Normandy raised his credit in Edward's eyes.

[3] *A.-S. Chron.*, (E) 1052, (F) 1051, (C) 1052 (pp. 177–8); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1052 (p. 208); *Vita Aedwardi*, p. 405.

[4] *A.-S. Chron.* (C) 1052 (p. 182); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1052 (pp. 209–10). Cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*, ii (3rd edn.), 650–2.

Omer, where he witnessed a charter of the count to St. Peter's of Ghent.[1] The relations of the great Flemish abbeys with England had continued in full operation even during the period of hostilities. In 1038 a certain Balger had procured some relics of St. Oswald of Northumbria and St. Edberga for the abbey of St. Winnoc of Bergues.[2] In 1044 Edward had fulfilled his promise to restore the English possessions of St. Peter's of Ghent, and had added to them some property in London.[3] Bishop Hermann of Ramsbury, who is variously described in our sources as a Fleming or a Lotharingian,[4] retired in 1055 to St. Bertin's, where he became a monk out of disappointment at having failed to annex the abbey of Malmesbury. He emerged from retirement in 1058 to take up the staves of both Ramsbury and Sherborne,[5] and brought back with him to England a monk of St. Bertin's named Goscelin, who had accompanied him on the journey he had made to Rome

[1] Van Lokeren, *Chartes de Saint-Pierre*, no. 133, pp. 95–6. The diploma is dated 13 November 1056. In "A visit of Earl Harold to Flanders in 1056", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, li. (1936), 90–7, I have suggested that Harold may have been on his way to Hungary to induce the atheling Edward to return to England.

[2] A. Pruvost, *Chronique et cartulaire de l'abbaye de Bergues-Saint-Winnoc*, i (Bruges, 1875), 39-40, the account is apparently based on a lost *Translatio* written by Drogo of Saint-Winnoc and addressed to Abbot Rumold. Cf. *Acta Sanct. Bolland*, 5 Aug. ii. 88, and 20 June iv. 29–30. Drogo also wrote a life of St. Oswald (*ibid.*, 5 Aug. ii. 94–103).

[3] Van Lokeren, *Chartes*, no. 124, pp. 88–90. Cf. Oppermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–7, and the forthcoming article of M. D'hondt referred to above, p. 86, n. 5. The charter is largely interpolated.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ii. 83 (Rolls Series, p. 182), describes him as "natione Flandrensi", while Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon*, a. 1045 (ed. Thorpe, i. 199), describes him as "de Lotharingia oriundus". Since Hermann was a common name in Lotharingia but rare in Flanders, I am inclined to follow Florence; the fact that Hermann later retired to St. Bertin's is no argument to the contrary, and would explain William's mistake. Freeman suggests, perhaps rightly, that his appointment to Ramsbury in 1045 marks an attempt by Godwine to counteract Edward's Norman proclivities (*Norm. Conq.*, ii (3rd edn.), 81–2).

[5] Florence, *Chronicon*, a. 1055, 1058 (pp. 214, 217); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontif.*, ii. 83 (pp. 182–3).

at Edward's orders in 1050,[1] and who was to become one of the most prolific hagiographers of the century. Another visitor to Flanders in the years immediately preceding the Conquest was the exiled Hereward. The details of his visit—the shipwreck near Saint-Omer, his welcome by Count Manasses, his war with the count of Guines and his capture of the count's nephew Hoibrict, his wooing and his marriage with Torfrida, and his two expeditions with Duke Robert to *Scaldemariland* [2]—are in the main legendary, but the visit itself seems to have been a reality; the expedition of the future Count Robert I against Zeeland is known to us from another source, and probably took place in 1067,[3] and the romance has preserved the name of Manasses, who appears to have been Count of Saint-Pol at about this time. But if there were Englishmen in Flanders, there was at least one Flemish magnate in England. Count Eustace II of Boulogne is known to have been amongst the number of Edward's "foreign favourites"; at some date after 1035 he had married Edward's half-sister Godgifu (Goda), widow of Count Drogo

[1] Goscelin, *Historia translationis S. Augustini*, ii. 3 (in Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, clv. 32) mentions his journey to Rome in Hermann's company, cf. on the journey, Freeman, *op. cit.*, ii. (3rd edn.), 116–17. Goscelin had been a monk of St. Bertin's and came to England with Hermann (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum*, iv. 341 (Rolls series, i. 389)). But it is possible that Hermann brought him to England on his return journey from Rome in 1050, and not in 1058. Presumably they met in Saint-Omer on the outward journey, and Goscelin then attached himself to the bishop.

[2] *Gesta Herwardi*, printed as an appendix to Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles* (Rolls Series), i. 353–64; there is also a (chronologically impossible) reference to Gilbert of Ghent on p. 343. The article by J. J. de Smet, "Hereward-le-Saxon en Flandre", in *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique*, t. xiv, ii (1847), pp. 344–60, is of no value. Tout, in his article on "Hereward" in the *D.N.B.*, is inclined to regard Hereward's visit to Flanders as legendary.

[3] See J. Huizinga, "Scaldemariland", in *Mededeelingen der Koninkl. Akad. van Wetensch., afd. Letterkunde*: deel 84, ser. B, no. 2; (1927), pp. 2–11 (86–95). This article is in the main a reply to the arguments of M. Verlinden that the expedition of Robert, known to us also from Theofrid's *Miracula S. Willibrordi*, c. 6 (*Acta Sanct. Bolland.*, 7 Nov. iii. 458–9), took place at a much later date.

of Vexin,[1] and it was his skirmish with the men of Dover while on a visit to England in 1051 that had precipitated the crisis which resulted in Godwine's exile.[2] But Eustace probably did not return to England after the restoration to power of Godwine's family, and apart from him we hear of no Flemish magnates in England before the Conquest.[3]

Since there exists an admirable article by an American scholar dealing with the part played by Flemings in the Norman conquest of England,[4] I do not feel that anything would be gained by my attempting to say anything on this topic here. Baldwin V held himself entirely aloof from the enterprise. Its success could in no way be contrary to his own interests.[5] The fact that his daughter Matilda was married to Duke William must have tended to make him favour the invaders, for his only tie with Godwine's family was through Tostig, and Tostig had been banished in November 1065 and at the moment of Edward's death (5 January 1066) was living in exile at Saint-Omer.[6] The

[1] The data relative to Godgifu's first marriage, confused by Freeman, are made clear by J. H. Round, *Studies in peerage and family history* (London, 1901), pp. 148–50. Drogo died in 1035.

[2] *A.-S. Chron.*, (D) 1052, (E) 1048 (pp. 172–5); Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1051 (pp. 204–5). Freeman, *op. cit.*, ii (3rd edn.), 131–3, tells the story with a wealth of moral indignation against Eustace.

[3] Arnold I of Ardres may possibly have come to England before the Conquest and been one of the foreign favourites of Edward; cf. Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 111, 114 (*Script.* xxiv. 614, 615). On the lords of Ardres in England, see Freeman, *op. cit.*, iii (2nd edn.), 314, 725–6, and "The Lords of Ardres", *Historical Essays*, 4th series (London, 1892), pp. 159–98; and J. H. Round, "The Lords of Ardres", *Feudal England* (London, 1895), pp. 462–4.

[4] R. H. George, "The Contribution of Flanders to the Conquest of England", in the *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, v (1926), 81–97. There is much of value in Toll, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 ff., and Freeman's *Norm. Conq.*, *passim*.

[5] Baldwin was at this time regent of France for the young Philip I, and is often blamed by historians for not preventing the Conquest, which was by no means in the interests of the French monarchy. But he can scarcely have foreseen the completeness of William's success, and it is difficult to see what he could have done.

[6] *A.-S. Chron.*, (C) 1065 (p. 192). Cf. the other versions of the Chronicle, and Florence, *Chron.*, a. 1065 (pp. 223–4).

count's neutrality did not prevent him from giving shelter to Harold's family after the conquest had been achieved.[1] But neither did it hinder Tostig and William collecting recruits in Flanders, and amongst the followers of the Norman duke were Eustace of Boulogne and a great number of lesser Flemish magnates. Eustace and his followers played an important part in the Battle of Hastings and the subsequent military expeditions of William to the North and West, and were recompensed on an enormous scale ; the Flemish element was second only in importance to the Norman when the land of England came to be distributed amongst the invaders. It is from this land settlement, and from the arrival of trading elements in the reign of Henry I, that one must really date the beginning of the period of close Anglo-Flemish relations that was to outlast the Middle Ages.

I have so far confined myself almost exclusively to the political and ecclesiastical connections between England and Flanders. The political connections, in the period I have been speaking about, were really of only secondary importance ; the religious connection is of significance only in so far as it influenced the movement of monastic reform in England that is associated with the name of Dunstan. But I should like before I close to say a few words on the economic and cultural ties between the two countries.

So far as economic affairs are concerned, there is very little that one can say, for virtually no information on the subject has survived. We have seen already [2] that the list of tolls of 991–1002 mentions the presence of Flemish traders in London at this date, and this is almost the only piece of solid evidence that we possess.[3] The grant in 1044

[1] See Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, iii (2nd edn.), 157–9, 752–5.

[2] See above, p. 95.

[3] The scanty information that exists is given by G. G. Dept, "Les marchands flamands et le roi d'Angleterre", *Revue du Nord*, xii (1926), 303, and *Les influences anglaise et française dans le comté de Flandre au début du xiii^e siècle*, p. 15.

of Warmansacre in London to St. Peter's of Ghent suggests trading connections between London and Ghent, for Warmansacre was on the waterfront and its wharves are mentioned in Edward's charter.[1] The fact that in 1050 some English sailors engaged in the Baltic trade called in their difficulties on St. Trond has been used as an argument to show that English merchants were familiar with Flanders and Brabant.[2] Certainly Bruges was already a port of some standing, and in southern Flanders Arras and Saint-Omer were growing commercial centres. But the probability is that at this epoch both England and Flanders traded more with Scandinavia than they did with each other; this at least is suggested by the mixed hoards of Anglo-Saxon and Flemish coins which are found in the Baltic countries and Russia, and by the fact that few Flemish coins have been found in England or English coins in Flanders. The Flemish trade with England was presumably in cloth, the traditional export of Flanders since Roman times, and the Flemings no doubt received in return articles of luxury and hides and metals, as well as other commodities in which Flanders was deficient. An incident recorded in the *Miracula S. Winnoci* shows that there was also a certain trade in slaves.[3] According to the accepted belief the export of wool from England to Flanders,

[1] The phrase used is "infra Londonem partem terre de terra illa videlicet que Warmanakre anglice nuncupatur cum warvo eidem terre pertinente et cum omnibus rectitudinibus et consuetudinibus, que ad illam pertinent" (Van Lokeren, *Chartes*, p. 88). On Warmansacre see W. Page, *London, its origin and early development* (London, 1923), p. 132–7; his account of its history must be treated with some reserve. The suggestion that the grant might have a commercial significance is made by C. Johnson in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xlix (1937), 154.

[2] Stepelinus, *Miracula S. Trudonis*, ii. 74 (*Scriptores*, xv. 827–8), cited by Dept, *Les marchands flamands*, p. 303.

[3] *Miracula S. Winnoci*, c. 10 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., Script. rer. Merov.*, v. 784); a certain Merolfus, a native of the Boulonnais, is accustomed to sell slaves overseas. The incident described occurred in the tenth century. The *mercatores ultramarini* referred to no doubt included Irish as well as English traders; we know of the efforts made by St. Wulfstan in the eleventh century to put down the traffic in slaves between Bristol and Ireland.

an export that was to make the fortunes of both countries, did not begin till the twelfth century, but although there is no evidence on the point it is not impossible that it may go back to earlier times.

During the second half of the eleventh century Goscelin and Fulcard,[1] two monks of St. Bertin's who settled in England, made remarkable contributions to English hagiography, but Flemish scholars who visited the country earlier than this have left little trace of their work behind them. We have seen already that Grimbald had helped King Alfred in the translation of the *Pastoral Care*, and that monks from St. Peter's of Ghent had assisted in the composition of the *Regularis concordia*, but otherwise there is nothing to record. Two monks who remained in Flanders, however, made important contributions to English historical literature. At some date between 1006 and 1011 a monk named Adelard of St. Peter's of Ghent composed at the request of Archbishop Elfege of Canterbury the series of lections on the life of Dunstan which ranks as the *Vita secunda* of the saint.[2] The *Vita* was certainly written at Ghent, and not, as one might suppose, on a visit of Adelard to England, for it contains a verbal quotation from the *Annales Blandinienses*.[3] The writer probably had the

[1] Fulcard became abbot of Thorney in Cambridgeshire in 1068, and ruled till his death in 1082 (*Annales monasterii de Thorney*, a. 1082, in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii (London, 1819), 611; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, xi. 33 (ed. A. Le Prevost, Paris, 1852, iv. 281) says he ruled for 16 years, which gives the date of his accession); there is no reason to believe that he was in England before the Conquest, though this has frequently been assumed to have been the case.

[2] Stubbs, *Memorials*, pp. 53–68; on the author, date, and manuscripts see Stubbs' Introduction, pp. xxx–xxxi, xli–xlii.

[3] In referring to Arnulf I, Adelard writes (pp. 59–60), "Hic tempore eodem nobile quoddam coenobium nomine Blandinium, a sancto quondam Amando structum, in majori elegantia renovavit, ibique magnum Dei sacerdotem Wandregisilum cum sociis archipraesulibus nutu Dei transtulit." This echoes the *Annales Blandinienses*, which have under the year 960 the notice "Hoc anno ab Arnulfo marchiso hoc Blandiniense coenobium in maiori elegantia est constructum" (P. Grierson, *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, Brussels, 1937, p. 19); the mention of St. Amand refers to the current controversy with the monks

Vita prima—no doubt sent to him by Elfege [1]—before him, but he was in any case very well-informed on English affairs. It is not clear whether he knew Dunstan personally, but he may well have done so, for he is almost certainly identical with the *Adelardus* who drafted three charters of St. Peter's of Ghent in 972, 974, and 984.[2] It is disappointing that he gives us no details about Dunstan's stay in Flanders, a subject on which some traditions might well have been preserved in his own abbey. The other work by a Flemish writer dealing with the English history is that which is variously called the *Gesta Cnutonis regis* or the *Encomium Emmae*.[3] Its author—there is no reason to believe that he was an Englishman [4]—was apparently a monk at St. Bertin's, where he saw Cnut on his journey to Rome in 1026. He made the acquaintance of Emma during the three years (1037–40) which she spent in exile at Bruges, and in 1041 he composed the *Gesta*, which is largely a panegyric on his patroness. It is a work of considerable interest and value, but the author was not above tampering with the truth in order to please the queen,[5] and

of St. Bavo's as to the identity of the monastery founded by the saint, and the mention of St. Wandrille recalls the translation of the relics of this saint to Ghent in 944 (*Ann. Bland.*, a. 944 ; p. 18).

[1] Stubbs suggests (p. xxxi) that it may have been sent to Adelard to be turned into verse, but that Adelard preferred to write a series of lections instead.

[2] Van Lokeren, *Chartes*, nos. 45 (31 January 972), 48 (2 October 974), 61 (12 January 984).

[3] Ed. G. H. Pertz, Hanover, 1865 (and in *Script.*, xix. 509–25). The best general discussion of the work and its author is in M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ii (Munich, 1923), 329–31.

[4] Manitius, *op. cit.*, p. 330, points out that he sometimes gives the Latin interpretation of English names, and regards this as evidence in favour of his being an Englishman. But such a practice is common also in Flemish writings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and does not really prove anything. It would be interesting to know whether the author's interpretation of "Ashdown" is made independently, or whether he had read Asser (see above, p. 80, n. 1).

[5] He ignores Emma's first marriage to Ethelred, calling her a *virgo* at the time of her marriage to Cnut (ii. 16 ; p. 24), and implying, though not directly stating, that Edward and Alfred were Cnut's children (iii. 1 ; p. 29).

since she must have been the chief source of his information no impartiality can be looked for in his statements.

There is not much evidence available which would enable us to estimate the extent to which Flemish manuscripts came to England during this period. We have seen already that a manuscript of Prudentius from St. Bertin's and the manuscript known as Leofric's Missal from St. Vaast's of Arras were brought to this country in or about the tenth century, and further research in English libraries might reveal a number of other volumes of which the same is true. The abbey of St. Peter's of Bath, which was colonised in 944 by monks from St. Bertin's, provides us with a certain amount of interesting material. Its abbot Seiwold (Saeweald) fled to Flanders after the Conquest, and eventually presented a number of books to St. Vaast's of Arras. These volumes—a list of thirty-three of them is preserved on the last page of a manuscript at Arras—almost certainly formed part of the library at Bath, and ten of them, together with what appears to be a leaf of an eleventh, are still in existence. Of these eleven volumes one manuscript and the archetype of another must have been brought from St. Bertin's, and only three are either written in distinctively Anglo-Saxon hands or contain Anglo-Saxon glosses or notes. Some of these glosses, as well as the remaining manuscripts that have survived, are in continental hands, though the presumption is that they were written at St. Peter's. We may conclude from this that the monks from St. Bertin's succeeded in imposing their own style of writing at Bath, and that their influence did not die out till the middle of the eleventh century.[1]

There is little evidence for the presence of English manuscripts in Flanders at this time. We have seen already how Arnulf II acquired a valuable manuscript from some English monastic or cathedral library,[2] and a

[1] Cf. my article, "Les livres de l'abbé Seiwold de Bath", which will shortly appear in the *Revue Bénédictine*.

[2] See above, p. 93.

copy of Nennius, which was in the abbey of Marchiennes in the twelfth century,[1] must have been there already two centuries earlier, since it was used by the author of the *Chronicon Vedastinum*.[2] It has since disappeared, but it can be shown that two Nennius manuscripts of the twelfth century in English libraries are derived from it.[3] The library of St. Bertin's possessed an early eleventh-century manuscript containing a number of Ælfric's works,[4] but it is impossible to say whether it acquired it before or after the Conquest, for Seiwold's books were not the only ones to come to Flanders after 1066; Gunhild, Harold's sister, who died at Bruges in 1087, bequeathed to the chapter of St. Donatian's a psalter with Anglo-Saxon glosses,[5] and the copy of Ælfric was perhaps a legacy from Harold's mother Gytha, who appears to have settled at Saint-Omer.[6] The history of Judith, Tostig's widow, is interesting in this

[1] The manuscript is mentioned in the twelfth-century catalogue of the library of Marchiennes under the title "Historia Britannorum" (*Catalogue général des mss. des bibliothèques des départements*, sér. in 4°, t. vi (Paris, 1878), p. 767).

[2] *Script.*, xiii. 678; cf. p. 675, and *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auctores antiquissimi*, xiii. 133. This Flemish copy of Nennius was also used by Lambert of Saint-Omer in the *Liber Floridus* (cf. L. Delisle, "Notice sur les manuscrits du Liber Floridus", in *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibl. nationale*, xxxviii (1906), no. 78, p. 640) in the early twelfth century.

[3] Part of Cambridge University Library, Mm. v. 29, and part of Bodley 163 (2016). Both contain the pseudo-Hieronymian *Vita S. Methodii* under the curious title *Libellus Bemetoli* (mistake for *Beati Methodii* ?), and both contain a *Series comitum Flandrensium* (*Scriptores*, ix. 336) which is found in manuscripts in Flanders. One of the two manuscripts in England was no doubt copied from the other, but present circumstances have made it impossible for me to examine them and ascertain any further particulars about them.

[4] This manuscript is now Boulogne 16; cf. B. Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Aelfrics* (Bibl. der Angelsächischen Prosa, t. ix. Hamburg, 1914), pp. x–xiv. A mark of ownership on folio 2r° proves that it was in the possession of St. Bertin's by the thirteenth century at least.

[5] J. Meyerus, *Commentarii sive Annales rerum Flandricarum*, Antwerp, 1561, a. 1389, folio 209*v*. The manuscript has since disappeared. Meyerus confused the sister of Harold with Gunhild, daughter of King Cnut and wife of the Emperor Henry III, and wrongly attributed the legacy to the latter.

[6] *A.-S. Chron.*, (D) 1067 (ed. Plummer, i. 202).

connection. We know very little about her life in England.[1] She presented her husband with two sons, Scule and Ketel, who took part in the Battle of Stamford Bridge (26 September 1066) and later settled down and founded families in Norway.[2] Bishop Ægelwin of Durham gave her in 1065 some of the hair of St. Oswin,[3] and she also acquired some relics of St. Oswald.[4] She accompanied her husband on his journey to Rome in 1061,[5] and when he was banished in November 1065 she went with him to Saint-Omer,[6] and after his death she settled down in Flanders. A few years later, through the agency of Archbishop Odo of Trier, she married Welf IV, later Duke of Bavaria,[7] and she appears to have lived in southern Germany till her death in or soon after 1095.[8] Amongst the relics which she presented to the abbey of Weingarten were the bones of St. Oswald and some relics of the Holy Blood which she had received from her father,[9] and a leaf of a manuscript from Weingarten contains a list, drawn up on 12 March 1094, of various other gifts she had made to the abbey.[10] Although

[1] Cf. a useful if somewhat romantic account of Judith by M. Harrsen, "The Countess Judith of Flanders and the library of Weingarten Abbey", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxiv (1930), 1–13.

[2] Snorri Sturluson, *Hcimskringla*, ix. 102–3 (tr. S. Laing, iii (London, 1844), 97–100). But possibly the boys were illegitimate, since their names are not from Judith's family nor, so far as we know, from Godwine's.

[3] See the twelfth-century *Vita S. Oswini*, c. 4, 6, in *Miscellanea Biographica* (Surtees Society, vol. viii, 1838), pp. 14–15, 18–20.

[4] They were amongst those which she presented to Weingarten.

[5] *A.-S. Chron.*, (D) 1061 (pp. 189, 191).

[6] Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iii. 11 (ed. Le Prévost, ii. 120) and the sources cited above, p. 103, n. 6.

[7] *De inventione et translatione sanguinis Domini* (in *Scriptores*, xv. 922–3).

[8] Her *obit* is given by the Weingarten necrology as 5 March (G. Hess, *Monumentorum Guelficorum pars historica* [1784], p. 136), and she was still alive when the list of her gifts and those of her husband to Weingarten (*ibid.*, pp. 153–4) was drawn up on 12 March 1094. She must therefore have died in 1095 or later. I do not understand why Hess (p. 154) makes her die on 13 March 1094.

[9] *De inventione* (in *Script.*, xv. 922–3).

[10] The list is given in Fulda, Aa. 21, folio 89v. It is printed in Hess, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–4.

it is nowhere very clearly stated,[1] it may be presumed that five magnificently illuminated evangeliaries of the eleventh century of Flemish or English origin that were later in the possession of Weingarten formed part of her benefaction.[2] Of the two manuscripts executed in England, one (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 709) is in the New Minster style and can probably be dated 1020–30[3]; it has been suggested that Judith may have obtained it through her husband's uncle Ælfwig, who was abbot of New Minster from 1063 to 1066.[4] The other (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 708) is also in the New Minster style, but shows a certain Flemish influence; it may have been executed at Thorney.[5] Of the three Flemish manuscripts, the provenance of two (Fulda, Ständische Bibliothek, Aa. 44 and Stuttgart, Hofbibliothek, II. 46) cannot be definitely determined,[6] but

[1] The list of her donations includes "duo preciosissima scrinia in auro et artificio, tria plenaria—cum uno textu evangelii", which may refer to Morgan MSS. 708 and 709 and Fulda Aa. 21 (Harrsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7). There is no mention of the other two manuscripts. Two of the manuscripts (Pierpont Morgan 708 and Fulda Aa. 21) contain entries relating to Judith, but no assertion that the volumes were given by her. On the Fulda manuscripts one can consult the note of A. Haseloff, "Aus der Weingartner Klosterbibliothek", in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1905, col. 1998–9, and on the two manuscripts now in America see L. Dorez, *Les Manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall* (Paris, 1908), pp. 9–11 and Planche iii.

[2] Miss Harrsen suggests (p. 9) that Monte Cassino B.B. 437, an eleventh-century evangeliary executed in England, may have passed through her hands.

[3] See O. Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im x Jahrhundert* (Studien über christliche Denkmäler; N.F., t. xiii. Leipzig, 1912), pp. 66–7.

[4] Harrsen, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[5] This is the view of Miss Harrsen (p. 4), who gives a list of other manuscripts that on artistic grounds can be assigned to the same scriptorium; one of these, though decidedly earlier, was certainly executed at Thorney. I am rather less confident about the later ones, for there is no evidence that Fulcard of St. Bertin's was at Thorney before the Conquest (see above, p. 106, n. 1), though of course there may have been Flemish influence at Thorney independently of him. It may perhaps be noted that Godwine apparently had interests at Thorney; according to one manuscript of the Chronicle, his family took refuge there before their flight to Flanders in 1051 (*A.-S. Chron.*, (D) 1052; p. 175).

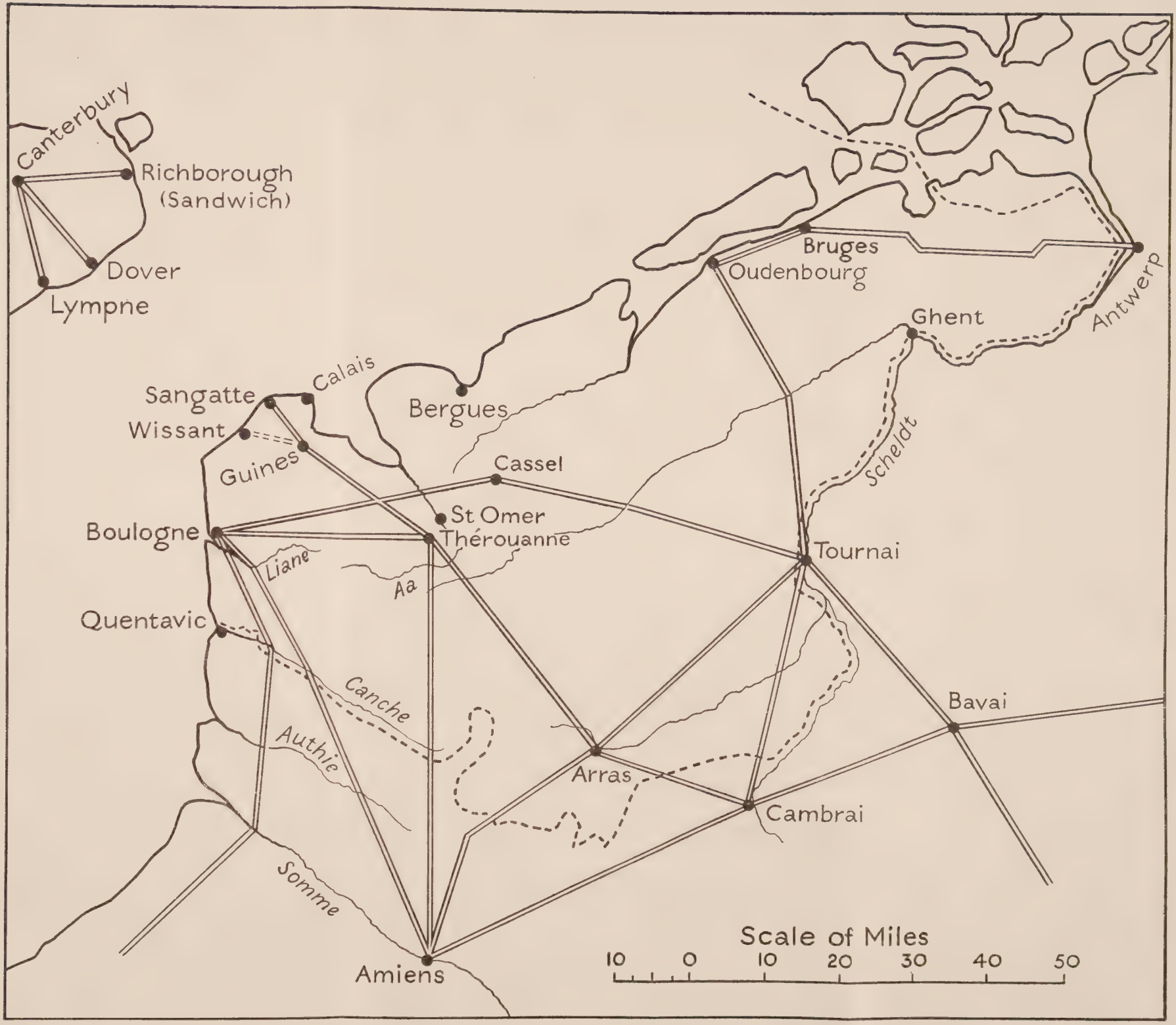
[6] Harrsen, p. 7.

the third (Fulda, Aa. 21) is from St. Bertin's ; the illuminations have clearly been executed by the same artist who was responsible for those in a sacramentary of St. Bertin's at Paris (Bibl. nat., MS. lat. 819).[1] These five manuscripts, and more especially the two executed in England, exercised an important influence on the school of Weingarten in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[2]

Illuminated manuscripts of the period with which I have been concerned in this paper are very rare, and it is not often that one can hope to establish such a series of connections as is possible in the case of the manuscripts of Judith of Flanders. But the investigation of this and similar questions seems to me to be one of the most promising lines of research in the future. It is not likely that further study of chronicles and charters will greatly add to our knowledge, and save for the earliest period the amount of archaeological material is not very great. But there are few lines of research more valuable than that of tracing the inter-relationship of manuscripts, of showing how they were loaned from one abbey to another and trying to fill in the gaps in their genealogy. Provided good editions of the texts concerned are available, this can be done just as well for the ordinary contents of monastic libraries as for the more precious volumes that were kept in sacristies. It would I think be true to say that only when a systematic study of the textual relationships of early English manuscripts with those in continental libraries has been undertaken, will we be able to form any accurate and precise idea of the relations of England with Flanders, as well as with other parts of the Continent, during the early Middle Ages.

[1] Harrsen, p. 6. For an account of the Paris MS., see V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, i (Paris, 1924), no. 43, pp. 105–7.

[2] Harrsen, pp. 9–11.



SKETCH MAP OF THE COUNTY OF FLANDERS AT THE CLOSE OF THE TENTH CENTURY

The coastline at this date is largely conjectural. The position of the main Roman roads is shown

NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND [1]

By Professor V. H. Galbraith, M.A., F.B.A., F.R.Hist.S.

A nation [2] may be defined as any considerable group of people who believe they *are* one ; and their nationalism as the state of mind which sustains this belief. Broadly speaking, the sentiment of nationality is much the same in quality at all times and in all places. Its minimum content is love, or at least awareness, of one's country, and pride in its past achievements, real or fictitious ; and it springs from attachment to the known and familiar, stimulated by the perception of difference—difference of habits and customs, often too of speech, from those of neighbouring peoples. The historical evidence for the existence of this positive sentiment in early times is largely inferential, a mere deduction from the struggles and mutual hatreds of tribes perpetually at war. But by the tenth or eleventh century there is evidence that medieval man was faintly stirred by the same sort of national impulses as we are, though he felt them in very different circumstances, in a different degree and, often, in relation to other objects. By the thirteenth century the fully developed medieval state had reached a

[1] This paper should have been delivered on 14 December 1939, but the meeting was abandoned.

[2] I would like to thank Professor J. Dover Wilson, and Mr. R. W. Southern of Balliol College for substantial help and criticism. Medieval English nationalism has been discussed by T. F. Tout, *France and England : their relations in the Middle Ages and now*, Lecture I ; and G. G. Coulton, " Nationalism in the Middle Ages," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. v., No. I, 1935. Dr. Coulton paints a gloomy picture of Europe rent by national discords in the monasteries and universities and among the Crusaders. But he hardly touches the positive national feeling of the medieval *state*.

momentary equilibrium, and if it was still "feudal", it was also, in its way, a national state.[1] Then as now, nationality was in general, though not necessarily, coterminous with a vernacular. But it was moulded and defined by a universal Latin culture, and its history chiefly recorded in Latin chronicles. The vernaculars played a subordinate *rôle* and if, in England for example, we study medieval nationalism only in vernacular poetry and homilies, the Ormulum, the Ancren Riwle and English or French chronicles, we shall miss much of its character and achievement.[2] There was not yet that close, emotional association of national feeling with the vernacular (it is here contended) that distinguishes contemporary nationality. The beginnings of this connexion lie in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the medieval state was past its best.

The real nationalities of the early Middle Age were much smaller than those of to-day.[3] If we imagine a medieval man saying, "My country, right or wrong," he would be referring to Normandy, Mercia, Bavaria, even to Pisa or Florence, rather than to France, England, Germany, or Italy. The primary groupings of the Middle Ages were, in fact, the provincial or regional nationalities. These were first hammered into shape by powerful princes and then gradually swallowed up in the larger modern units. The main outlines of potentially greater nationalities are nevertheless discernible from a very early period, for they rest upon the solid foundations of tribal grouping and language. Franks, Germans, and Englishmen are well distinguished before the tenth century and had arrived at some sort of external unity in their political organisation.[4] In England

[1] *Cf.* the judicious summary in R. Fawtier, *Europe Occidentale de 1270 a 1328, Histoire Générale* (1940), ed. Glotz.

[2] The complex background of medieval nationalism is well brought out in R. M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature* (1939).

[3] Tout, *op. cit.*, 9.

[4] By the time of the Crusades nearly all the European nations were clearly distinguished. *Cf.* William of Malmesbury's description of the Crusaders: "The Welshman abandoned his forest hunting, the Scot (or

where the situation was complicated by the Scandinavian occupation of the north-east in the late ninth century and the Norman conquest in the eleventh, the simultaneous working of nationality on both planes is clearly traceable. The Danish conquest superimposed on the original provincial nationalities a division of the country into two nations,[1] yet without destroying its formal unity: and a century later it was still an open question which would prevail. The foreign sympathies of Edward the Confessor and the Norman conquest excited a common "English" hatred of the conquerors, which perhaps transcended, though it hardly differed in kind from, the regional antipathies of north and south, of Dane and West Saxon. The feudal order was indeed compatible with both types of "national" sentiment. All political relations were then personal relations, and the personal tie which (generally through the tenure of land) joined every man to some other above him in the social hierarchy, ultimately connected the serf with the king of the Franks, the king of the English or even with the Roman Emperor himself. The French monarchy, for example, was thus preserved through the tenth and eleventh centuries, when France was in fact divided into a dozen or more virtually independent states, provincial nationalities, whose rulers governed their lands and ordered their policy with complete freedom.

The feudal tie—the personal devotion of a man to his lord—was in short the moving force of medieval society[2] and determined political development at both levels. For in the first place, it settled feudal geography. The effective national unit was a region small enough for the prince to know personally and to control all his immediate vassals, and the more important medial tenants. Flanders, Normandy, Anjou are typical examples, while in post-Conquest

Irishman) his familiarity with fleas, the Dane his constant drinking, and the Norwegian his raw fish." *Gesta Regum* (R. S.), ii. 399, quoted by Coulton, p. 18.

[1] F. M. Stenton, *The Danes in England.* [2] Tout, *op. cit.*, 10.

England central control was just, but only just, maintained. To realise that England had reached the geographical limit we need only examine the Norman attempts to absorb Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.[1] Secondly, the feudal tie strictly limited the possibilities of centralisation. The feudal prince, it is often said, was and remained throughout the Middle Ages only *primus inter pares*, the first in an aristocratic society of social equals. This, of course, is not the whole truth,[2] though it is a rough approximation to the facts. The prince was always, and increasingly, something more than feudal. The Church, for example, invested him with peculiar prerogatives incompatible with this definition ; and it is the strength of the Middle Ages that contradictory assertions rarely prevented a working compromise. But the fact remains that while there is a great deal of royal centralisation at the expense of the third estate, the franchises of the nobles remained as legitimate and " divine ", and therefore as unsusceptible of legal limitation as those of the king himself. Royal power differed more in degree than in kind from that of the great vassals, and their liberties (in England) only ended with their destruction in the fifteenth century.

Thus personal lordship cut across, and in some ways blunted the edge of nationalism, especially the larger nationalism, in the Middle Ages. There were, too, other limiting forces : the universal Church, for example, even though, for its own purposes, at times it fostered national differences ; the uncentralised, unachieved character of the medieval state ; the slower pulse of political life in an overwhelmingly agricultural society ; the conflicting claims of corporate separateness in civic and economic life ; the class divisions, often bitter ; and finally, the dazzling prestige of the Latin tongue which retarded the acceptance of the

[1] Ireland and Wales were largely left to private enterprise. The northern counties are not included in Domesday Book ; the Scottish problem was not really tackled till the time of Edward I.

[2] The mixed character of kingship is brought out by Fawtier, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–4.

vernaculars. For these and other reasons, national feeling was only one of several competing forces towards social coherence. To-day nearly all these limitations have disappeared, leaving free play to the all-pervading rabid nationalism of contemporary Europe. The restricted nationalism of the Middle Ages is further illustrated by the poverty of medieval Latin, which had but the single word *natio* to describe the Slavs, the English, the Saxons, or the Florentines.[1] With the growth of the idea comes, by abstraction and refinement, a wider vocabulary. The word "nation" is found in the fourteenth century with something of a modern sense; and "national" in the sixteenth. "Nationally" and "nationality" appear in the seventeenth: "nationalise" in the eighteenth: and "nationalism" and "nationalisation" only in the nineteenth.[2] To these we must add a mass of poetic metaphor and personification in which the literary expression of the more recent mass sentiment is encrusted—the Flag, the Fatherland, "My England", and so on. Nationalism, which to-day is as much the province of the poet as the politician, might even at first sight appear to be different in kind from the medieval sentiment; but it would be unwise to deny it a sentimental or emotional force before we find either an exact vocabulary or literary expression of the idea. The single term *natio*, at once more concrete and more general than its derivatives,[3] may hide a hundred shades of meaning, and the difference between the medieval and the modern feeling of nationality be no more than one of degree.

The sentiment of nationality is thus a continuous thread in the stuff of English history, present in some primitive form from the beginning, but in the Middle Ages still

[1] Tout, *op. cit.*, p. 7. [2] N.E.D.

[3] *Cf.* Owen Barfield, *Poetic Diction*, pp. 69 and 70 (quoting Macaulay), "Nations like individuals first perceive and then abstract. They advance from particular images to general terms. Hence the vocabulary of an enlightened society is philosophical, that of a half-civilised people is practical."

relatively inconspicuous. Historians are wont to measure its growth and intensification by the progress of the vernacular, which, as is well known, developed in a unique and precocious way in the tenth and eleventh centuries. By the year 1000 we meet with a formed, literary English prose, and very little later, an "official English" used by the central government. Professor Chambers,[1] who, in a brilliant essay has recently brought together the indications of a national feeling in England at this time, lays great stress on this prose, and in particular on the fact that it is such good prose. He says, in effect, that there are few better tests of a people having reached and maintained its place among nations than the power of writing stirring prose in its own tongue: that from some points of view it seems as if eleventh-century England was getting into the fifteenth without passing through the later Middle Ages at all: and that the English language and English nationality were both nearly destroyed by the Norman Conquest. There can of course be no doubt about the existence of some sort of a national consciousness in pre-Conquest England. Behind the official English lies a century of more or less continuous political pressure exerted by a line of energetic kings which certainly did something to beat England into political unity; and the emergence of a homiletic, literary prose was undoubtedly an educative influence, in politics as well as in religion, upon lay society. But we must be careful not to read back the present into the past by assuming that the vernacular was as important an element in national feeling then as it is now. For if we make this mistake we shall greatly exaggerate the strength of Saxon national feeling, and what is worse, we shall miss the fact that it was a continuous sentiment which, surviving the Norman Conquest, brings us after three centuries of expansion to the more-national England of the fifteenth century.

The point is not so much whether *we* admire the prose

[1] *On the continuity of English prose* (E.E.T.S. 1932), pp. lviii, lxxvii, lxxxii.

of the Anglo-Saxons and think it good, as whether *they* thought it good and took pride in it as a literary language. Actually there is little evidence of any such attitude. The vernacular in England as elsewhere was a second best, and its diffusion a sign of national illiteracy. It was encouraged by Alfred because of the dearth of Latin scholarship, and used by Ælfric, very reluctantly, to carry the message of salvation to the laity.[1] The early vernacular poetry, it may be, embodies many a glimmer of still less than half-realised national feeling,[2] but the early prose is due to the practical necessity of saving souls or governing people in a land that lacked an adequate supply of Latin-writing men. It could hardly be otherwise in an age when learning and Latin were virtually synonymous. Latin was the language of the clergy; the only learned language; the only language studied grammatically; the only language that could adequately express the thoughts of sophisticated men on letters, religion, science, and mathematics. It was, in short, the language of Rome in a still backward-looking civilisation. True, it had been a dead language for at least three centuries (else had the vernaculars never arisen): yet it could be and was spoken as Esperanto and Ido are spoken,[3] while for literature, learning, and business its credit was not anywhere to be seriously challenged before the thirteenth century. From start to finish, Latin was the reluctant foster-mother of the vernaculars all over Europe. It was learned clerks who gave the Roman alphabet to the various local *patois*, and (chiefly by translation from Latin) slowly raised them to the literary level. Practical necessity applied this process first and most intensely in England. Soon English

[1] K. Sisam, *Review of English Studies*, vol. viii. no. 29 (Jan. 1932), p. 5, n. 3, and p. 8.

[2] This is perhaps an understatement. *Cf. Battle of Maldon* (M. Ashdown, translation, p. 25): "Say . . . that there stands here with his troup an earl of unstained renown, who is ready to guard this realm, the home of Ethelred my lord, people and land." I owe this reference to Dr. O. K. Schram.

[3] *Cf.* Ferdinand Lot, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler Latin," *Bulletin Ducange*, 1931 (i), p. 150.

was caught up and overtaken, first by French and then by Italian. These in turn reacted upon English, and so, indirectly, prolonged and extended the influence of Latin upon the vernacular. In such a world as this, to equate nationality with the literary achievements of the vernacular, to the exclusion of Latin culture, is to ignore the realities of medieval national life.

There is little to show that in pre-Conquest England national feeling, which was real enough, was as yet bound up with an emotional affection for the vernacular either in literature or in public life. The coming together of nationality and language was scarcely, in fact, to begin for more than two centuries. Nor is this surprising. The national feeling of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, though steadily widening, was inevitably feudal and aristocratic. Then, as now, it centred on the person of the ruler, but an intelligent grasp of royal policy (not to speak of actual participation in it) was confined to the few. The social and educational gap between the noble and the peasant counted for more than the bond of a common tongue, and more forceful ties were found in their joint interest in the land and their common loyalty to the king. The rustic's England was hardly larger than his native Hundred, and his politics reached no further than the local manor house. Yet he was knit and woven into the body politic just because the life of the manor-community was so intensely local. It is, I think, a modern anachronism to imagine in the twelfth century an "English" nation under the heel of a foreign dynasty and its foreign barons.[1] A *risorgimento* is precisely what we do *not* find in twelfth-century England or later. On the contrary, that the English very quickly transferred their loyalty to the Norman dynasty, is well attested.[2] It took rather longer to reconcile them to the new nobility, but this was probably accomplished within a century. In

[1] *Cf.* A. F. Pollard, *History of England* (Home University Library).
[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 109: the English rally to the side of William II.

the twelfth century, just because it was an aristocratic age, foreign conquest carried with it no proscription of local ways of life and no deliberate assimilation. From the first day of his reign, William duke of the Normans ruled in England as king of the English, making no more deliberate changes than necessity demanded. And so, while the military system was at once revolutionised, the old chancery, the old finance, the old law courts and the old laws persisted. What was true of the king, was true *mutatis mutandis* of his barons. Freeman [1] long ago pointed out that no effort was made to "strangle" the English tongue. Latin supplanted English as the literary and official medium, we cannot doubt, with general approval, and French, too, rather later, won on its merits. William of Malmesbury in a famous passage contrasts the vanished English nobility with their Norman conquerors, but without reference to their vernacular. It is only, in fact, at the very end of the thirteenth century, that we first find the vernacular associated with patriotism,[2] and still another century before we meet with the suggestion that the Normans deliberately suppressed the English language.[3] We are forced to accept the fact (however repugnant to modern feeling) that the English after no great interval gave the old loyalty to the new and homogeneous Norman ruling class. The Normans in their turn had Edward the Confessor added to the list of saints, and quickly identified themselves with the romantic national history purveyed in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, the source of the medieval Brut chronicle.[4] Henceforth this is the popular expression of medieval national feeling; and it filtered down through countless translations

[1] *Norman Conquest*, v. (1876), p. 507.

[2] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 480; from the summons of the archbishop to the parliament of 1295: [Rex Franciae] . . . linguam Anglicam, si conceptae iniquitatis proposito detestabili potestas correspondeat, quod Deus avertat, omnino de terra delere proponit.

[3] The Pseudo-Ingulf, quoted by Freeman above.

[4] *Cf. Select Charters*, p. 112. Stubbs points out that Henry I is recognised in the Chronicles as the Lion of Justice or Righteousness of Merlin's prophecy.

and adaptations in French and English to an ever-growing audience of illiterate readers. Already in the reign of Henry II, by a development that was substantially continuous, England was in every significant sense of the term, more of a nation than in 1065.

The fact is apparent in the contemporary literature. Nationality, like all the governing ideas of the Middle Age, was seen through the eyes of Latin ecclesiastics, and received its literary expression from men whose first assumption was a sovereign Church which from the ninth to the thirteenth century became in theory and practice more universal, more Roman. This was, indeed, the true line of advance and of education in that age. It is not therefore really paradoxical that the proper source for the study of medieval national feeling in the twelfth century is the works of the Latin historians.[1] They show how quickly the clerk, whose loyalty was to the land and its past (especially through the saints and the privileges of his church) was developing a local, English allegiance. William of Malmesbury, for example, breathes nationality, and in excellent Latin. His very grasp of English history—so far in advance of anything seen for centuries—marks a step forward in national consciousness, and a very slight study of the *Gesta Pontificum* reveals an historical interest rooted in English soil.[2] The

[1] The great exception is, of course, the Anglo-Saxon chronicle or chronicles. Professor Chambers (lxiii) calls attention to some remarkable passages which show how hateful foreigners were just before the Conquest to the northern as well as to the southern English. There is a danger of exaggerating the importance of these entries just because they are written in English: actually they have precisely the same force as the Latin strictures of Matthew Paris on the *alienigenae* of Henry III's reign. The protest against genuine exploitation by foreign favourites who have gained the ear of feeble monarchs is perennial in history. More extraordinary is the fact that the vernacular chronicle only stops at the time when the fusion of the two races was being completed. The favourable verdicts of the English chronicler on William I and Henry I are destructive of any theory of a vernacular protest against foreign conquest.

[2] *E.g.* he says of the people of Canterbury, "plusquam ceteri Angli conscientiam adhuc antiquae nobilitatis spirans" (*Gesta Pontificum*, p. 3). *Cf.* the description of Thomas archbishop of York as "novus Anglus" in the *Vita Wulfstani*, p. 24.

same is true of his lesser contemporaries, such as Serlo,[1] whose poem on the Battle of the Standard is entirely English in spirit. The stubborn and illiterate warrior class, whose history and privileges alike began in 1066, held out rather longer. The sudden substitution of a new nobility for the English thegns suggested to contemporaries as well as to later writers that English nationality had perished in the Conquest; more especially as the Normans, though adaptable and tolerant, were long mindful of their common kinship, however widely they were scattered. "It was taken for granted", writes Miss Jamison,[2] "that any (Norman) family might have a relative settled in the Sicilian kingdom just as a girl to-day might speak casually of an uncle in India or a sister at the Cape." As late as the Battle of the Standard (1138) Ailred of Rivaulx puts into the mouth of Walter Espec [3] a speech in which there is no mention of the English but only of the Normans: "Certe patres nostri et nos hanc insulam . . . in brevi nostris subdidimus legibus, nostris obsequiis mancipavimus . . . Quis Apuliam, Siciliam, Calabriam, nisi vester Normannus edomuit?" But where the Church led, the nobles followed, and by the time

[1] *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis*, ed. J. Raine (Surtees Soc., vol. 70 [1880]), p. 75, written about 1144. *Cf.* p. 2 the lines beginning, "Anglia terra ferax", or p. 3, "Quod patriae fles damna tuae," etc. How completely the clerical attitude to England had changed since the first generation after the Conquest will be seen by the examples given in Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] *The Sicilian Norman kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman contemporaries* (British Academy), p. 42.

[3] *Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I. R.S.*, iii, p. 186. Ailred of Rivaulx was born about 1110 and died in 1167. Mr. Southern points out that by a curious coincidence, this Walter Espec, with all his talk of the Normans, has a place in the writing of the new history of England. He had a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth which he lent to Ralf Fitz Gilbert, who passed it on to his wife for the use of Geoffrey Gaimar. Gaimar not only translated it, or some of it, into the vernacular (French), but he linked it up with the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, "E del estorie de Wincestre, Fust amende ceste geste", and with the history of the Norman kings. Thus while the Anglo-Saxon chronicle was still being written, there was a new vernacular history with the complete chain, Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Normans.

of Henry II they too were indistinguishable from the English.[1]

That national feeling and the vernacular had not yet come together is clearer still in the thirteenth century. The chroniclers, drawing inspiration from the past, trace to its medieval climax the history of that extensive rather than intensive nationalism which from the time of Athelstan to Edward I is more the pursuit of empires than of natural boundaries. In the second half of the century the increase of some sort of political unity and the strengthening of the national consciousness are plain matters of fact. Yet all this took place at a time when England enjoyed three literary languages and three competing cultures ; and (unless we throw over our Stubbs) the process of amalgamation is still continuous. The country was loyal, patriotic, anti-Welsh, anti-Scottish, anti-French. It showed in fact all the essentials of national feeling, except that, so far as education allowed, it preferred Latin to French, and French to English. This is particularly true of the spoken vernacular, in regard to which England is admittedly exceptional. Robert of Gloucester, writing towards the end of the century, complains that there is no land " that holdeth not to its own speech save England only ".[2] But the exception is one that proves the rule, since, of all European states, England was then the most highly developed national unit. The use of the mother tongue was not yet a criterion of national feeling.

It was only in the fourteenth century that Europe began to be " vernacular-conscious ". The change marks a clear stage in western development, and the beginning of an

[1] *Select Charters*, p. 219, from the *Dialogus de Scaccario* : " sic permixtae sunt nationes ut vix decerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus quis Normannus sit genere ". *Cf.* Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, i. 586. Henry II's descent from the old royal house helped to reconcile him to the English, and he is greeted by Ailred of Rivaulx, himself an Englishman, as " the corner stone which bound together the two walls of the English and the Norman race ". See Powicke, " Ailred of Rivaulx ", J. R. L. *Bulletin*, vol. vi. (1921–2), p. 349.

[2] J. Orr, *French the third classic*, p. 11.

influence which, all over Europe, was to transform and intensify the national sentiment. Already there was everywhere pride based on national achievement. This was now followed by the appearance of a great, though not yet a national vernacular literature, based not on utility or necessity but on conscious choice. The great name is, of course, that of Dante, whose analogue in England, two generations later, is Chaucer. Both were foreign in the matter of their vernacular writings: they were, in fact, what we should call "precursors", alive to influences whose full realisation lay far ahead. For their successors, the vernacular came to have a symbolic, national value though the Middle Ages were still Latin-bound and the Renaissance was to intervene between them and the coming of the modern, vernacular, national literatures. Yet in the confused period of the fifteenth century there was progress in that direction. In England, for example, nationality and the vernacular come consciously and undeniably, if only momentarily, together for the first time in the reign of Henry V, whose despatches from France to the City of London were written, and so to speak, deliberately written in English.[1]

The vernacular movement appeared later in England than in France and Italy, partly because a wider gap had to be bridged between the vernacular and Latin, partly because of peculiar historical difficulties connected with the existence of two vernaculars after the Norman Conquest. The genius of Chaucer pointed the way to salvation, but the language had almost to be remade under the intensive influence of French and Italian. By the sixteenth century Chaucer's syntax was as obsolete as that of his models. Only in the reign of Elizabeth do we get, as it were, a perfect correspondence—an ardent, recognisable, national feeling:

[1] Chambers and Daunt, *London English* (1931), p. 139. Many examples could be quoted, e.g. *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* (1436), ed. Warner (1926), pp. xvii–xix. *Cf.* the lines beginning "kepe then the See, that is the wall of England" (l. 1096), which the editor aptly compares (p. xxxvii) with the lines of Richard II quoted below.

> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands,
> This blessed spot, this earth, this realm, this England,[1]

and a final discard of Latin and French in favour of a native literature :

> I love Rome, but London better. I favor Italie but England more. I honor the Latin, but I worship the English.[2]

Mulcaster's enthusiasm bore fruit in his pupil Spenser, who consciously set himself to create a national, English literature comparable with that of France and Italy. From the sixteenth century onwards, the national language has never ceased to be a strong and conscious factor in the national sentiment : and since the French Revolution the association of the two has often reached the level of passionate feeling.

The very intimate association of national feeling and affection for the vernacular in the modern world must not blind us to the fact that the connexion is comparatively recent. They converge only when the natural and fashionable medium of literature is by deliberate choice discarded for "the mother tongue". For Dante the choice lay between Latin and Italian, and in the *Convivio* he seeks to justify his choice of the vernacular in the teeth of learned prejudice and of tradition. His example is all the more striking since no man felt so strongly the claims of Latin as the sovereign literary tongue, the only "Grammar". The relation of Latin to the vernacular is also discussed by Dante in the *De vulgari eloquentia* ; and it was probably because he was so conscious of their conflicting claims, that his statements are not completely consistent with one another. But two things, at least, are clear. First that he

[1] *Richard II*, II. I. 45.
[2] W. L. Renwick, *Edmund Spenser* (1925), p. 18 [*Elementarie*, p. 254].

considered Latin the better language, that is, the more efficient vehicle of thought. And secondly, that the vernacular "which we acquire without any rule by imitating our nurses" is "nearest to a man, inasmuch as it is most closely united to him, for it is singly and alone in his mind before any other".[1] To say this, was to discover that Latin, however much or little it was spoken, was and had been a dead language for centuries, since it was the *materna lingua* of no one. Moved by something stronger than reason, prejudice, and literary tradition, he threw in his lot with the still unmade vernacular. It might be supposed, since Dante was still useful as a model for Ariosto a hundred and fifty years later, that his decision was, perhaps unconsciously, governed by the fact that Italian had already reached a certain fixity of development. More probably it reflects a growing awareness of, and affection for the vernacular, now becoming general throughout western Europe. In the same way we may guess that Chaucer was impelled by something new and something more than conscious choice in using English as his literary medium.

In the last resort, the meaning of nationality in the Middle Ages, turns largely upon our definition of the terms we use. The medieval state is properly defined as "feudal", so long as we do not thereby exclude the elements at least of national sentiment: or we may just as well call it "national" (as Stubbs did), so long as we recognise the existence of other and often contrary influences. Whichever course we pursue, the real difficulty is to avoid reading the present into the past. The danger is greatest for those who, rightly conscious of a national sentiment in early times, look for supporting evidence in the growth of the vernacular tongues. The affection we all feel for the mother tongue to-day, we owe ultimately to the literary achievement of pioneers, who at a fairly definite stage in European history, abandoning Latin, set themselves to make new literatures in their mother tongues. The phenomenon is more probably

[1] Dante, *Convivio* (Temple Classics), p. 54.

due to a general change in European thought and feeling than to circumstances peculiar to any one nation, such as the state of the language or the accidents of political and social unity. The change, moreover, is hardly perceptible before the fourteenth century, a truth easily and concretely grasped if we compare the Norman Conquest with the attempted conquest of Scotland by the Edwards.

> A! fredom is a noble thing
> Fredom mais man to haf liking
> Fredom all solace to man giffis
> He lifis at es that frely lifis.[1]

Whatever the causes, the close modern association of national feeling with the vernacular began with the literary masters—like Barbour—and has by their genius been gradually spread, with growing education, throughout society.

[1] John Barbour (*ob.* 1395).

THE ENGLISH CORONATION OATH

By H. G. Richardson, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 6 January 1940

To the early history of the coronation oath it would be difficult to add, unless, which seems unlikely, some altogether fresh documents are discovered.[1] In any case, the course of history is plain. The king bound himself by a threefold promise to preserve peace and protect the church, to maintain good laws and abolish bad, to dispense justice to all. This oath had been taken by English kings from the tenth century: it was taken by William the Conqueror and by his successors. But more than this, Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II all issued coronation charters.[2] Neither Richard I nor John did so, but Henry III went back to the practice that had been followed by his grandfather, and the great charter as it was reissued in 1216 was, in effect, a coronation charter.

[1] Manuscript and printed sources relating to the history of the coronation generally are listed and discussed by P. E. Schramm in "Ordines-Studien III: die Krönung in England" and "Nachträge zu den Ordines-Studien II–III" in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (1937), xv. 305–91; (1939), xvi. 279–86. The same author's *Geschichte des englischen Königtums im Lichte der Krönung* (1937) (translated by L. G. W. Legg under the title of *A history of the English coronation*) includes a valuable discussion of the history of the oath as well as of other aspects of the coronation. The documents in print are widely scattered, but a very useful collection is that made by L. G. W. Legg, *English coronation records* (1901). Some documents not to be found there can be conveniently consulted in A. Taylor's *The glory of regality* (1820). For other documents and a discussion of sources, see *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xiii. 129–45; xiv. 1–9, 145–8; xv. 94–9; xvi. 1–11. See also P. L. Ward, "The coronation ceremony in mediaeval England" in *Speculum*, xiv. 160–78.

[2] For a commentary on these, see C. H. McIlwain, "Due process of law in Magna Carta" in *Constitutionalism and the changing world*, pp. 94–8.

The great charter, supplemented by the charter of the forest, was again reissued by Henry in 1217 and 1225 and many times confirmed.[1] By a solemn deed, the violators of the charters were declared excommunicate by archbishop Boniface and his fellow bishops, by an equally solemn deed the king and the magnates assented to this sentence, and by his bull the pope confirmed it.[2] The great charter became the fundamental law of the kingdom, and when men began to make collections of statutes, as they did before the end of Henry III's reign, the great charter was the corner-stone.[3]

Edward I did not reissue the charters on the occasion of his coronation. Not only had he formally expressed his assent to their confirmation in 1265—though this was before Evesham—but the statute of Marlborough, to which he was an assenting party, had also confirmed them.[4] He was hardly less bound than his father. If there was any thought of exacting from him on his accession any fresh undertaking, it may have been believed that the promises he gave at his coronation covered an obligation to respect the charters. If so, these promises proved inadequate, and before his reign was done fresh undertakings of the most specific kind had to be exacted from him. Indeed, the political history of the last ten years of his reign, from the

[1] Faith Thompson, *The first century of Magna Carta*, pp. 93 ff.

[2] *Statutes of the realm*, i. 6–7; Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 703–4; *Cal. of papal letters*, i. 306. It is evident that the barons attached importance to the papal confirmation: see the charter of 14 March, 1265, which refers to "carte antique . . . per nos dudum concesse, in quarum violatores ad peticionem nostram sentencia excommunicacionis dudum lata est et per sedem apostolicam specialiter confirmata" (*Statutes of the realm*, i. Charters, p. 32).

[3] Richardson and Sayles, *The early statutes*, pp. 5, 19, 44: cf. C. Bémont, *Chartes des libertés anglaises*, p. xxx, where he says that the great charter and the charter of the forest are "comme la pierre angulaire de sa constitution écrite", and C. H. McIlwain's discussion of the great charter "as in some sense a law fundamental" in "Magna Carta and common law" *op. cit.*, pp. 172–6, reprinted from *Magna Carta commemoration essays*, pp. 173–8.

[4] The confirmation is in chapter 5: the statute begins with a recital that Henry III, Richard king of Germany, Edward the first-born of king Henry and the legate Ottoboni were present when the provisions were made.

episode of the *Confirmacio Cartarum* onwards, is very largely the story of the bonds placed upon the king and of his evasions.

Imagination has played round the coronation of Edward I and there has been associated with it a form of oath which, so far as we know, first appeared in the fifteenth century. This curious piece of historical inversion is due to the editorial methods of those responsible for the *Statutes of the realm*, who printed this late form as an addendum to an early fourteenth-century text: but they succeeded in misleading Stubbs and so, in turn, generations of students.[1] There can be no doubt, however, that in 1274 there was an addition to the traditional coronation oath, for, although no record of the actual words used at Edward I's coronation has come to light, we have his own testimony, supported by an anonymous note in the "Liber Regalis" of 1308, that to the three traditional promises there was added another, that the king would preserve the rights of the kingship—*iura regni*—unimpaired, and that nothing affecting the rights of the crown would be done without the counsel of the prelates and great men of the realm.[2]

Promises beyond those contained in the traditional oath of the coronation office had sometimes been given by former kings at their coronations, or had been exacted from them on exceptional occasions.[3] John seems to have sworn in 1205 that, by the counsel of his great men, he would do

[1] *Statutes of the realm*, i. 168; Stubbs, *Constitutional history* (fourth ed.), ii. 109*n*., followed by Pollock and Maitland, *History of English law*, i. 384*n*. (more specifically by Maitland, *Constitutional history*, p. 99), and Liebermann, *Über die Leges Angliae saeculo XIII. ineunte Londoniis collectae*, pp. 53–4. In his paper on "The coronation oath of Edward II" in *Historical essays in honour of James Tait*, p. 406, Mr. B. Wilkinson questioned whether there was any ground for connecting this form with Edward I. As Liebermann pointed out, it follows, in some places word for word, the description of the duties of the king which we owe to the thirteenth-century London writer (*loc. cit.* and *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 635–6): but the oath of 1308 has also been put under contribution (Schramm, *History of the English coronation*, p. 215; *Ordines-Studien III*, pp. 363–4).

[2] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 11.

[3] Schramm, *History of the English coronation*, pp. 185 ff.

his utmost to preserve the laws of the kingdom unimpaired,[1] and there was nothing in the obligation which Edward assumed that thirteenth-century writers would not have regarded as inseparable from kingship.[2] It is, indeed, possible that Edward's coronation oath was in exactly the same words as his father's. Gregory IX certainly believed that Henry III had sworn at his coronation to safeguard the rights, liberties and dignities of the crown, and we have no reason to question the accuracy of his information.[3] However, it would seem that, on the occasion both of Henry III's coronation and of Edward I's, the twelfth-century recension of the coronation office (the " Anselm Ordo ") was continued in use, and that the oath, although enlarged, was not recast.

Whatever may have been the intentions of those who framed this additional promise, the king found in it a meaning that made it a two-edged weapon to be used either against papal claims or against the claims of the baronage. The first occasion on which we know Edward to have had resort to it was when, in writing to Gregory X on 19 June 1275 (less than a year after his coronation), he evaded a reply to the pope's request that the annual tribute due to Rome should be paid.[4] In 1296 he submitted to a council at Berwick, attended by prelates, councillors and magnates, the question whether he could recognise a papal provision to a benefice when the right of presentation belonged to the king by reason of the voidance of the see of Canterbury :

[1] Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical works* (Rolls Series), ii. 97.

[2] For example, the *Leges Angliae Londoniis collectae* (*Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 635–6 : Schramm, *op. cit.*, p. 197) ; Bracton, fo. 1, 1*b*, 5*b*, 107, 107*b* ; Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, p. 96.

[3] *Foedera*, i. i. 229 (June, 1236) : cf. *ibid.*, p. 234 (bull of 20 February, 1238). As Professor Schramm points out (*op. cit.*, pp. 196, 270), the evidence of the chroniclers is no guide to Henry's actual words. It can hardly be the result of accident that Gregory's words in 1236 : " Cum igitur in coronatione tua iuraueris, ut moris est, iura, libertates et dignitates conseruare regales ", should correspond so closely to the words of the contemporary London compiler : " Debet uero de iure rex . . . omnes dignitates et iura et libertates corone regni huius in integrum . . . obseruare et defendere " (*Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 635).

[4] *Parliamentary writs*, i. 381–2.

there he was advised that to do so would be to the prejudice and injury of the crown, whose rights he was bound by oath to preserve unimpaired, and so he informed the cardinals who had written on behalf of the pope's nominee.[1] Again, when Boniface VIII intervened in the Scottish conflict and the reply to his bull of 27 June 1299 was under consideration, one line of argument suggested was that the king could not litigate on the rights of the crown without the consent of the nobles and great men of the realm, or, as an alternative, that they would not permit the king to do so, it being explained that they were bound by oath to safeguard and defend the rights of the crown.[2] In the end there was drawn up (but not despatched) the famous letter of the barons which, while passing over the king's oath, mentions that of the barons.[3] The whole incident brings out sufficiently clearly the important principle that the king's oath was not unilateral but reciprocal, in the sense that the oath of allegiance taken by the nobles at the coronation laid upon them duties which were the counterpart of those assumed by the king.[4] This principle is manifest, also, in the dispute over the restriction of the king's forest privileges, which came to a head in 1301, at the same parliament of Lincoln at which the barons' reply to Boniface was settled. Now the king was seeking to use his coronation oath and the reciprocal oath of his subjects to defeat their demands. He expressed his willingness to meet their wishes provided that, in so doing, he would not violate his oath or prejudice the rights of the crown, and he left the barons to determine these points themselves.[5] Whether Edward sincerely believed himself to be in the right or not is a question we need

[1] Prynne, *Exact chronological vindication*, iii. 631. The date of the council must be late August or early September.

[2] Prynne, *op. cit.*, p. 886.

[3] *Parliamentary writs*, i. 103–4; Palgrave, *Documents illustrating the history of Scotland*, p. cxxxi.

[4] Cf. Schramm, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–5, 188.

[5] *Parliamentary writs*, i. 104: the king had previously been careful to limit his concessions by a saving in respect of his oath and the rights of the crown (*Statutes of the realm*, i. 126–8).

not discuss: in the event he was disappointed, for the barons, although they avoided an answer to the king's two points, took the view that they were asking the king to concede no more than might be legitimately demanded and given. The king was not minded to relinquish his rights, as he conceived them, without a further struggle; and, on the accession of Bertrand de Got, his own subject, to the papacy, he appealed for release not only from his undertakings in regard to the forests but from all his undertakings in regard to the charters, from the *Confirmatio cartarum* of 1297 onwards. The grounds of his appeal are noteworthy: the concessions had been made under duress and, even if he had bound himself by oath to observe them, he had previously at his coronation taken an oath to safeguard the honour and rights of the crown. The pope freed Edward from every bond, and not only Edward but all his successors, saving the rights of the English people as they were before the concessions. Since, however, the pope expressly annulled, at the king's request, that clause of the *Articuli super cartas* which provided for the solemn excommunication twice yearly of all violators of the charters, it might well be doubted whether the rights of the people included, in the king's eyes, the benefits of either Magna Carta or the charter of the forest.[1] Edward, however, in the short time that remained for him to live, did not go beyond reversing the disafforestments. One final incident, very near the end of the reign, shows the king using his oath as a weapon to overcome the opposition of the clergy to the collation of his nominee to an ecclesiastical benefice.[2]

[1] *Foedera*, i. ii. 978; Bémont, *Chartes des libertés anglaises*, pp. 110–12.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1011: letters patent of 10 March 1307. I should, perhaps, remark that Professor Schramm cited this document only to reject its evidence for the additional promise included in Edward's coronation oath (*op. cit.*, pp. 199, 270–1): but he did not mention the other evidence I have noted above, which establishes an overwhelming case for the view I have adopted. I gather that Professor Schramm may have since modified his conclusion: see *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, xvi. 284, where also he draws attention to the evidence for a similar clause in the coronation oath of the king of Hungary in the early thirteenth century.

These may not be all the occasions that could be discovered on which the king availed himself of his oath as a means of defeating some action that affected the rights of the crown: but they are sufficiently numerous and diverse to be taken as representative. The position, then, at the end of the reign, as those who opposed Edward I saw it, would be that, while the three promises contained in the traditional oath might be urged against the king for the protection of his subjects,[1] the additional promise was a weapon which enabled him to resist any restriction on his rights, as he interpreted them, and might even put in jeopardy the sacrosanct charters themselves. It might also enable the king to have his own way with ecclesiastical appointments, but in this matter the baronage might sympathise with him rather than with the prelates.

There is general agreement that the occasion for which a new form of oath was devised was the coronation of Edward II, and that the coronation office was then rewritten. It seems certain that no manuscript of this oath or of the fourth recension of the office is earlier than his reign: [2] and there is no doubt that the oath in the form prescribed for his coronation was administered unchanged, save, perhaps, for a few words, to successive kings throughout the rest of the Middle Ages and that, with some modifications, it persisted for nearly four hundred years until, in 1689, the oath was recast by statute.[3]

But when we ask the reason for a new form of oath in 1308, and in what new ways the king was bound, the answers we are given are conflicting. No contemporary chronicler remarks that a new form was introduced and none, there-

[1] See the (? draft) *gravamina* of the clergy preserved in the register of John of Pontoise, where the king is reminded "quod regimen populi tam in corporibus quam in bonis sibi committitur et ad hoc in sua coronacione se, prout bene recolit, obligauit" (*Registrum Iohannis de Pontissara* (Canterbury and York Soc.), p. 779).

[2] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xiii. 131–7; xiv. 145; xvi. 1–11; Schramm, *Ordines-Studien III*, pp. 340 ff., 356 ff.

[3] 1 W. & M., c. 6.

fore, gives a reason for the change. What, however, chroniclers have done is to view the events of the early months of Edward II's reign in the light of the subsequent tragedies. Discord and violence are projected back to the very beginning, and these deepened shadows have been extremely difficult to disperse.[1] That Edward II's reign was shadowed from the start is undeniable. His father had left behind him a terrible inheritance of war and debt and political strife. The *damnosa haereditas* of the Angevin kings was a heavy enough burden, and none the less burdensome because to bear it was esteemed an honour. But Edward I, with his resources already mortgaged to maintain his position on the Continent, had plunged into an unnecessary war with Scotland: and, although the full, fatal consequences of his unwisdom were not, and could not be, foreseen, the drain on English resources was manifest. Nor, when elementary common sense demanded national unity, even at a sacrifice, could Edward I's pride bring him to accept the curtailment of his forest privileges to which he had pledged himself, and the complaisant Clement V had released him from his oath. Nor could he bear to have in his councils, or even in his kingdom, an archbishop of Canterbury who had opposed his will. Thanks to the common sense of the pope, who refused Edward's monstrous request for the deprivation or translation of Winchelsey and the intrusion of a Gascon as his successor,[2] when the old king died on 7 July 1307, nothing more scandalous had happened than the exile of the archbishop, suspended, and detained for more than a year at the Curia, in consequence of a purely political quarrel.[3]

[1] The need for revising the view which had long been current was indicated by Tout, *Reign of Edward II* (1914), pp. 75–85: cf. *Chapters in mediaeval administrative history*, ii. 191–2.

[2] For this incident, see my forthcoming paper "Clement V and the see of Canterbury", *English Historical Review*, vol. lvi.

[3] The bull citing Winchelsey is dated 12 February 1306, but was not served until 18 May at Dover priory: he left for the Curia immediately (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. cvi, cvii, 144–5).

Now, if we blame Edward II for bringing back Gavaston, we must not refuse him credit for bringing back Winchelsey. Gavaston came at a call: but Winchelsey would come only on his own terms, regretful, perhaps, that he could not follow farther in the footsteps of the blessed Thomas the Martyr.[1] The new king, however, was all for appeasement, and in this he must be presumed to have had the undivided support of his council. The disappearance of Walter Langton from office was inevitable if a break was to be made with the policy of Edward I, and it was natural that Edward II should introduce into the administration those who had served him as Prince of Wales. But Langton was the only servant of the dead king to be pursued with enmity: others continued to serve in the new reign, though in different offices. It is far from certain that there was even any serious difference of opinion on the conduct of the Scottish war. If there were some who still whole-heartedly believed in the forward policy of Edward I, for the moment, at least, they were acquiescent in the change to less vigorous measures, or without sufficient influence to oppose effectively the relinquishment of the financially ruinous efforts of the last few years.[2] Dr. T. F. Tout pointed out[3] that the charter of 6 August 1307 conferring upon Gavaston the earldom of Cornwall was witnessed by "seven earls, including the old earl of Lincoln, the chief lay supporter of

[1] Cf. Birchington in *Anglia sacra*, i. 17.

[2] The effects of the vast accumulation of debt must have been evident: cf. Tout, *Chapters in mediaeval administrative history*, ii. 121, 125–30. The coronation itself entailed preparations and expenses that would in any case interfere with the prosecution of the war. The coronation of Edward I can hardly have cost less than £6,000, and may well have cost more: three accounts on the Pipe Rolls of 2, 5 and 8 Edward I show expenditure of £1,100 (E. 372/118, m. 18*b*), £200 (121, m. 21), £4,295 (124, m. 24*b*): and £666 appears to have been spent in addition by Luke of Lucca (Tout, *op. cit.*, p. 5, n. 1). Dr. Tout elsewhere gives other details of expenditure on Edward I's coronation, but they appear to be mistaken. I have not traced accounts for Edward II's coronation, but we know that it was on a magnificent scale.

[3] *Op. cit.*, ii. 192. The charter will be found in *Lords' reports on the dignity of a peer*, v. 12–14, and *Foedera*, ii. i. 2.

Edward I, and the young earls of Lancaster and Hereford, the future leaders of the opposition'': and, although this may not be very convincing evidence of "how willing the earls were to rally round the new occupant of the throne",[1] yet there is no reason to suppose that the recall of Gavaston was opposed.

Prayers for peace and plenty were offered throughout the realm,[2] and every opportunity seems to have been taken to sound the note of appeasement, of relief for the oppressed. Let me instance this reproof administered by the king to the monks of Cirencester during the voidance of the abbey. They hold, he tells them, their liberty of seven and a half hundreds, not that they may oppress the poor but that, being themselves free from the subjection of the king's servants, they may protect their subjects and neighbours and do justice by their own servants: and he reminds the monks that the king is bound to see that his people are dealt with justly. Three months later he writes to the newly appointed abbot in the same tone: it is the king's business to see that the people of his realm are governed with justice, and the abbot must remove the oppressive bailiff, of whom there are reiterated complaints, or answer personally for his failure to do so.[3] I do not, of course, suggest that the

[1] I doubt whether we can build very much upon witness-lists, which record the names of those present—or supposedly present—at court, but do not tell us anything of their views on the subject matter or their feelings towards the beneficiary. The Malmesbury writer says that, apart from the earl of Lincoln and some others, the magnates protested against the grant (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 155): the witness-list will hardly enable us to check the truth of his assertion. Can we deduce anything from the fact that the charter of 5 August 1309 in favour of Gavaston and his countess (*Lords' reports*, v. 14–17) was witnessed by six of the seven earls who are said to have demanded his exile in May 1308 (*Triveti annalium continuatio* (1722), p. 4)?

[2] *Foedera*, ii. i. 9, from Close Roll, 28 October 1307.

[3] L.T.R. Memoranda Roll, 1 Edw. II (E. 368/78), m. 93*b*. The letter to the monks is dated 30 November 1307, and that to the abbot 28 February following. The exact phrases used to describe the kingly office are worth quoting: in the first letter, "volentes, ut tenemur, populum regni nostri tractari cum iusticia"; in the second, "nos advertentes interesse nostra prospicere populum regni nostri sub habenis iusticie pertractari".

king had direct knowledge of documents such as this. But that, in the official correspondence conducted in his name, the king should appear pitiful and zealous for justice, the defender of the oppressed, shows that his ministers had their instructions and that these were informed by a policy not the less opportune for being intelligent and far-sighted.

This is the true background of the early months of Edward II's reign—not an infatuated king and an upstart Gavaston at loggerheads with the earls. That trouble was doubtless in the making, but, if we read events aright, it required an ascending series of imprudences to bring the trouble to a head: the creation of Gavaston to be earl of Cornwall, his appointment to be keeper of the realm during the king's absence in France, his selection to bear the crown and to redeem the sword at the coronation. When we reflect that the two preceding earls of Cornwall had been king's sons—Richard, who became king of the Romans, and Edmund his son—that each had been keeper of the realm, and that the redemption of the sword was the service allotted to the highest among the earls and marked him out as such, we appreciate to what rank the king had elevated Gavaston, and we understand why the Ordinances of 1311 contained a provision that no keeper of the realm should be appointed without the assent of the baronage.[1] But how soon the earls became bold or vexed enough to address a remonstrance to the king is another matter. It is more than likely that the coronation passed off without any open expression of resentment: the earls performed their traditional services in the Abbey and at the banquet.[2] We have seemingly unquestionable authority for the statement that the first formal remonstrance was made at the parliament which met on 28 April, more than two months

[1] *Statutes of the realm*, i. 159, c. 9.

[2] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 9–10. For what it is worth, the testimony of the Pauline annalist is to the effect that there was great resentment, but no open display of it, at the banquet (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 261–2).

after the coronation,[1] and it appears certain that the chroniclers, who testify to high words and threats to the king at the coronation, are reading their history backwards.

In any case, we are not justified in imagining high words and threats to have been the atmosphere in which preparations were made for the coronation and in which the coronation oath was devised. Let us read our history forwards. Edward I had gone, with his pride and ambitions and troubles of his own making, from which there seemed no issue. Now there was a new king who had personal reasons, as well as reasons of policy, for breaking with the past, and it was a time for relief, for taking stock, for planning for a happier future. But a policy of conciliation demands concessions, and, in the situation in which Edward II found himself, it was he who must concede most. Willing as the magnates may have been to play their part, the events of the last ten years were present in their minds. They could not forget that, despite the undertakings and oaths of Edward I, the pope had annulled all the measures which had been contrived to secure respect for the charters, and that, by the same bull, the new king was as free from obligations as his father. Among the magnates, too, there were doubtless some who knew that, in like circumstances, Henry III, and John before him, had sworn and been released.[2]

How, then, could a faithless king be bound? The most solemn oath a king could take was that sworn at his coro-

[1] See archbishop Winchelsey's declaration of excommunication against Gavaston should he infringe the conditions of his exile (*Registrum Simonis de Gandavo*, i. 237–40; also, in part, in the Annales Londonienses (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 154–5); another copy, dated 19 May 1308, is in Cambridge Univ. Lib. MS. Dd. vii. 14, fo. 228).

[2] Edward, of course, treated as a precedent in 1305 Clement IV's action in relieving Henry III of his obligation to observe the Provisions of Oxford (*Foedera*, i. ii. 975). Conversely the barons in opposing Edward II must have had in their minds the precedent set by Simon de Montfort: this is reflected in the Malmesbury writer, *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, ii. 196.

nation: administered by the supreme representative of the Church in the realm, the most complaisant pope might hesitate to relieve the king of it. Unless we are prepared to believe that the new form of oath was an accident, a liturgical exercise as it were, we must believe, firstly, that there were reasons, such as I have indicated above, for altering the form of oath, and, secondly, that the form was settled between the king and his council. Years later the king told another pope, John XXII, that the council were even consulted regarding the oil to be used for his anointing.[1]

It has been suggested that the oath was a last-minute affair, devised on the very eve of the coronation, at the insistence of an exasperated baronage.[2] But no such drama occurred, even in the imagination of that inaccurate annalist of St. Paul's upon whom historians have relied as an "eye-witness",[3] but who actually constructed his story of the coronation, at least in large part, from documents he did not understand.[4] Fortunately, we are not dependent upon chroniclers, for it so happens that our information regarding Edward II's coronation is fuller than for that of any earlier king.

The coronation would be in men's minds very soon after the king's accession, but the first hint of preparations for it is in the writs summoning the parliament which met at Northampton on 13 October 1307.[5] These writs, which are dated 26 August, set out as the principal subjects for consideration the burial of Edward I and the king's marriage and coronation. We have no record of the proceedings at this parliament, but we must infer that, among the points

[1] Legg, *English coronation records*, p. 71; *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 6, n. 3.

[2] Wilkinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 407–12; followed by Schramm, *History of the English coronation*, pp. 204–7.

[3] So Stubbs, *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. lxxvi; followed by Sir James Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster*, i. 11, n. 5.

[4] For an examination of that portion of the *Annales Paulini* which treats of the coronation, see *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 3–5.

[5] *Parliamentary writs*, ii. ii. 1 ff.

discussed, were the recall of the archbishop of Canterbury and the coronation oath.[1] Very early in the new reign, messengers had been sent to the Curia to prosecute the case against Winchelsey, but as soon as this action came to the king's knowledge he repudiated it, for, as he said himself, he had no personal quarrel with the archbishop. However, in the meantime, apparently contrary to the king's wishes, Clement had commissioned William Greenfield, archbishop of York, to officiate at the coronation. Edward wrote to the pope on 16 December formally requesting that Winchelsey should be reinstated, and laying stress upon the prescriptive right of the archbishop of Canterbury to crown the king; but it was not until 22 January that Winchelsey was reinstated and the commission in favour of Greenfield was withdrawn. It seems certain, however, that unofficial assurances had been received in England early in January, for on the 10th it was already known that the date of the coronation had been fixed for 18 February, and preparations were being made.

Winchelsey, however, was ill, and there was little chance of his being present at the coronation, much as the king desired it, and the archbishop left Edward to choose one of three of his suffragans—the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury and Chichester—to officiate. The king's choice fell upon the bishop of Winchester, and the archbishop issued a commission accordingly on 28 January, and doubtless notified the king, who, we should remember, was in France for the whole period from 22 January to 7 February. The archbishop's messenger must in some way have failed to deliver his letters, and when Edward arrived in England he was without news of the commission to the bishop of Winchester, and seems to have inferred that there was still some possibility that Winchelsey would be able to officiate. After waiting for a further two days without news, the king wrote to Winchelsey asking him to despatch a reply by the bearer.

[1] For the details following, see *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 3–5, and my forthcoming paper mentioned above, p. 136, n.2.

It was now only nine days from the day fixed for the coronation, and the archbishop must be sought at Poitiers.[1] There was nothing for it, therefore, but to postpone the coronation. Whether it was the king's messenger or the archbishop's who ultimately arrived with the commission for the bishop of Winchester, we do not know: our first certain knowledge that he had received it comes from 24 February, the day before the coronation.

These dates are important because they clear away completely all idea that the postponement of the coronation had anything sinister about it, and leave no room for the hypothesis that the coronation was postponed because the discontented earls were engaged in imposing a new form of oath on the king. It may be as well to recall that the postponement of the coronation was no new thing, since Edward I's had been postponed in 1274 from the octave of Easter (8 April) to Sunday after the Assumption (18 August). In this case, there was the adequate reason that the archbishop of Canterbury was absent at the council of Lyons and was not, therefore, available: [2] but the parallel to 1308 is a close one, for, in the latter year, a duly authorised representative of the archbishop was not available.

When we turn to the manuscripts from which we derive our knowledge of the coronation oath of 1308, we have convincing evidence that it was no hasty invention. The first manuscript to be put in evidence is the "Liber Regalis".[3] If we cannot be positive that this was the very service book borne by the king's confessor for the use of the bishop of Winchester at the coronation, there can be no doubt that that book was very similar. This contains the

[1] His movements after 28 January do not seem to be known: but I presume that he continued to reside at the Curia, which was then at Poitiers, until he started on his return journey to England, which he is said to have reached on 24 March (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, ii. 33).

[2] *Foedera*, i. ii. 508, 509, 513; Hemingburgh, *Chronicon*, ii. 3.

[3] Harl. MS. 2901. This manuscript is, of course, to be distinguished from the better known "Liber Regalis" in Westminster Abbey, containing the fourth form of the fourth recension of the office.

coronation office and embodies in a Latin form the French oath we know that Edward II took : the oath is in the same large, leisurely hand as the rest of the book. An addition has, indeed, been made to the book, but this is merely a prefatory rubric, inserted, apparently, in the interests of the monks of Westminster : other manuscripts exist of the same recension of the office which either lack this rubric or misplace it, but none affords the slightest suggestion that the oath was an afterthought.[1]

I have said that the king took the oath in French, and it is well that I should make it clear that this was not because he was illiterate—that is, unfamiliar with the Latin language —but because it was intended that the king should use the common idiom of all those assembled in the Abbey.[2] This much is plain from the " Liber Regalis ", for, after the office, the French form of oath is added with this rubric preceding it : " The oath of the kings of England sworn at their coronation upon the gospels lying in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury." It would, in fact, have been not at all difficult for Edward to have learnt the few Latin words prescribed for his responses in the office, even if he had not, as a youth, been instructed in Latin, as we know him to have been.[3] For all the Latin required of him was *Servabo, Faciam, Concedo et promitto.*

An unfortunate choice of a text by the editors of the *Statutes of the realm* has given rise to a legend that two forms of oath were prescribed, one in Latin for an educated king, and one in French for an uneducated king. The printed

[1] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xiii. 134–5 ; xiv. 145 ; xvi. 10–11.

[2] It is implied in an article on " Early coronation records ", which, with Dr. G. O. Sayles, I contributed to the *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research* (xiii. 143), that the oath was administered in Latin. In the light of further knowledge, I believe that the oath was invariably administered in the vernacular from 1308 onwards. It seems very likely that this was the practice also in the thirteenth and earlier centuries. It will be evident, from what has been said above, that the mediaeval coronation office, in whatever recension, is a doubtful guide to the actual words of the oath at any period.

[3] V. H. Galbraith, *Literacy of the medieval English kings*, p. 17. Professor Galbraith, however, does not question the legend of the two oaths.

text certainly warrants this deduction, but the text is of no authority. It was written no earlier than 1311 at Christ Church, Canterbury, by some one who set himself to harmonise the Latin of the office with the French form of oath actually prescribed. His glosses "si rex fuerit litteratus" and "si rex non fuerit litteratus" [1] are merely the work of his imagination. They disclose, indeed, just the kind of misapprehension we might expect of an uninformed Benedictine monk at that time. With few exceptions, his brethren had little facility with the Latin tongue, and they did not in practice speak it, save on extraordinarily solemn occasions. It was not expected of a novice, even at the end of his novitiate, that he should be able to recite the words of profession, some forty simple Latin words. These he read, if he could, from a slip of parchment, which ought to be written with his own hand, if he were able to write. If he could read fluently, he said the words aloud: if he could not, he muttered them, or something as near as he could get. He was not, on this occasion, allowed to take refuge in French, as was the lay brother who, when making his profession, might use that language or even English. But let us note that the lay brother, if he had but the barest smattering of Latin, was expected to read the words in that tongue.[2] An English Benedictine, then, was not likely to point the finger of scorn at a latinless king and call him a crowned ass. What, however, in his innocence, he might well suppose is that, if the king could but stammer a few Latin words, he would in no wise use French.

The relation of the French form of oath to the Latin form contained in the office is a matter of some interest. The hypothesis has been advanced that the French was

[1] *Statutes of the realm*, i. 168, from Canterbury Chapter Library MS. K. 11: the oath follows the ordinances of 1311 and the additional ordinances, which were presumably presented to the king late in that year.

[2] For all that precedes, see *Customary of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and St. Peter, Westminster* (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), i. 254–76, ii. 223–8: cf. i. 210, ii. 164. We may take these two great houses as representing the norm of English Benedictine practice.

derived from the Latin, mainly on the ground that the former introduces into the first and second questions put to the king, the word "seint", to which no corresponding *sancta* or *sancto* appears in the Latin.[1] But we must recognise that neither the Latin nor the French is a translation of the other, and that, whichever came first, the second was a very free adaptation of it, unless, indeed, as is possible, both derive from a common original. The discrepancy between the two is especially remarkable in the case of the first interrogation. In the office no precise words are laid down either for the officiating bishop or for the king: everything is put into a rubric and expressed in *oratio obliqua*. In the French form, everything is in *oratio recta*, and there is no room for doubt that the precise words there given were actually spoken at the coronation. The problem, therefore, of which came first in time is, from the point of view of law and constitutional history, of little importance: for the binding words were the spoken words, and these were in French. And we must go further and recognise that the French words were those settled by agreement between the king and his council. Behind them, of course, were the Latin formulas employed in earlier recensions of the coronation office, and it is possible that the first draft of Edward II's oath was itself in Latin. But we may be quite sure that, until the terms of the actual spoken oath were agreed, the form of the coronation office could not be finally settled: and however we may reconstruct the events preceding the coronation, we must conclude that a settlement had been arrived at before the king left for France in January, and quite probably at, or soon after, the Michaelmas parliament of 1307.

What then did the king promise that was new? On this point there is general recognition of the importance of the fourth promise, that the king will observe the laws and rightful customs chosen by the people of the realm. The

[1] Schramm, *History of the English coronation*, pp. 205–6; *Ordines-Studien III*, pp. 349–50.

actual words " les quiels la communaute de vostre roiaume aura eslu ", or in Latin " quas vulgus elegerit ", are ambiguous, and even in the fourteenth century there seem to have been two opinions, as there have been since, as to whether these words referred to the past only or to the future as well. Now no one at that time would be likely to question either that the king was the supreme law-giver or that no substantial change in the law could be made except with the assent of, at least, the great men of the realm : any future amendment of the law required, therefore, a double assent, and the king could not be bound against his will. Controversy regarding the meaning of these words of the oath may seem, therefore, to be academic. But a good deal might turn upon whether the king or the commonalty should originate legislation. This will be evident if we contrast Edward I's legislation with Edward III's : the one is, with rare exception, legislation from above, prepared and propounded by the king's ministers ; the other is, with rare exception, legislation from below, founded upon petitions of the commons, and there is no question that, in form at least, the initiative is passing in the fourteenth century from the king to his subjects.

If we ask what were the views of the baronial opposition on this point, we cannot be in doubt as to the answer. They would say, and in fact did say, that the king was bound by the ancient laws and customs, used and approved in the times of his predecessors : but if those laws and customs were found in any respect defective then, on the complaint of the people, the king and the prelates, earls and barons were bound to amend them and, by common assent, to establish the amended law with certainty.[1] This was the

[1] The phrase " et super hoc . . . certitudinem stabilire " is difficult to translate into unambiguous English. The underlying notion is that the law, if properly interpreted, is adequate, but it may be wrongly interpreted : when it is correctly interpreted by common counsel of the realm, then that interpretation should be clearly set down and observed in future. In this connexion, compare chapter 6 of the Ordinances regarding the elucidation of the charters (*Statutes of the realm*, i. 158).

utmost that the dissident earls claimed in 1312: they did not claim that the coronation oath bound the king to new laws chosen by the people.[1] And, unless there is an implication that the king is on the same level as the prelates, earls and barons, which the most venturesome would hardly have been bold enough to assert,[2] there is nothing in the earls' claim which we do not find followed in practice under Edward III. But it may be instructive to consider whether the famous words of the statute of York, which represent Edward's own interpretation of his constitutional position,[3] are in conflict with the earls' claim and with later practice. Of those words, I offer an English version freed from the verbiage of the original: "Henceforward at all times any manner of ordinances or provisions made by the king's subjects touching the royal power or against the estate of the king or the estate of the crown shall be null and void; but the measures to be established for the estate of the king and for the estate of the realm and the people shall be considered, agreed and established in parliaments by the king and by the assent of the prelates, earls and barons and

[1] *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 215: a comparison with p. 227 will show that the coronation oath lies at the back of the argument.

[2] The articles against Gavaston, which are said to have been presented in the Easter parliament of 1308, put in an extreme form the powers claimed by the peers: but even here it is stated that the king is bound by oath to govern his people and his lieges are bound to govern with the king and in aid of the king (*ibid.*, i. 153–4; also B.M. Burney MS. 277, fo. 5*b*–6). The words "et en defaute de lui" which follow in the "bill" attributed to the younger Despenser (*Statutes of the realm*, i. 182), are not found in the articles of 1308: this bill is, in any case, a malicious fabrication, as I hope to show elsewhere. In the articles of 1310, which led to the Ordinances of 1311, similar language is used: the king is called the governor of the land and the magnates claim no more than that they are bound by their allegiance to maintain the crown (*Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 168–9; *Liber custumarum*, pp. 198–9; *Chron. de Lanercost*, pp. 525–6). With the articles of 1308 and 1310 may be compared the petition presented by bishop Grandison of Exeter, in 1337, in which he states that 'la substance de la nature de la corone est principaument en la persone le roi, come teste, et en les piers de la terre, come membres, qi tenent de lui par certeyn homage' (*Register of John de Grandisson*, ii. 840).

[3] *Statutes of the realm*, i. 189.

the commonalty of the realm, as has been the manner heretofore." I cannot but think that there is implied in these words some restriction upon the right of the king's subjects, not indeed to complain, but to initiate legislation, and that the happy days to which the king looks back are those of his father.

It has recently been suggested that the first promise at the coronation, namely, to observe in particular the laws, customs, and liberties granted by the glorious king (saint) Edward, refers to the legislation of Edward I, and that the introduction of the word "saint" in the French text is a blunder—"the laws of the saintly king were now shrouded in the mist of the past".[1] But the spirit of the Confessor was immanent in the great church in which the rite was celebrated. The king, the king's father and his grandfather owed a special devotion to the saint,[2] and his memory was brought most forcibly to mind at the coronation by the king's offerings, which took the form of golden images of the Confessor and of St. John the Evangelist upon whom, in the guise of a pilgrim, he was bestowing a ring.[3] The

[1] Schramm, *History of the English coronation*, p. 206; *Ordines-Studien III*, p. 350.

[2] So far as Henry III and Edward I are concerned, this statement needs no support. The elaborate provision for the chapel of St. Edward at Windsor in 1313 is sufficient evidence for Edward II's devotion to the saint (*Foedera*, ii. i. 193).

[3] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 7, 10. The model was doubtless furnished by the tapestries which hung round the choir. These had been provided by abbot Berking (*d.* 1246): see J. Armitage Robinson, *Flete's History of Westminster Abbey*, pp. 28–9. It is not known whether the offertory had taken this form at the coronation of Edward I, nor whether the precedent of 1308 was followed by Edward III in 1327. It is probable that Richard II, like Henry IV, made his offertory in gold nobles. As to the latter, Adam of Usk's testimony seems conclusive (*Chronicon*, p. 119). As to the former, if, as it seems legitimate to do, we judge by Henry's coronation roll, which is slavishly modelled on that of Richard's (for texts, see *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xiii. 133), the ceremonies in 1377 and 1399 were as far as practicable identical. An offering in coined gold would not have been possible at any earlier coronation—unless, which is unlikely, a foreign coinage had been used—since the noble was first minted by Edward III. A previous attempt under Henry III to introduce a gold coinage had been abandoned.

Confessor was not yet demoded: [1] his authority was yet to be invoked by the fabricator of the *Modus tenendi parliamentum* and by John Harding, the forger of Scottish charters in the fifteenth century.[2] Indeed, the liberties —or, in French, franchises—granted by the glorious king were just those special privileges of churchmen and barons that Edward I had attacked and limited; and we need no better proof that, whatever the first promise might cover, it had nothing to do with recent legislation.

But is the fourth promise intended to safeguard Edward I's statutes? To this question a contemporary document seems to give an answer: I refer to the arguments advanced on behalf of the king when the Ordinances of 1311 were in dispute between him and the earls. The Ordinances are said to be on almost all points against the great charter and the charter of the forest, which the king could not infringe because to do so would be contrary to his oath sworn at his coronation.[3] If we are inclined to discount this argument on the ground that it was advanced by two French lawyers retained by the king, and that they argued, also, that the eleventh ordinance, abolishing the new custom and maletotes, was contrary to the coronation oath,[4] we must recognise that the king's interpretation of his oath covered at least the safeguarding of the charters. Now let us observe that the charters were regarded as fundamental law, with which statute law must be made to conform. As recently as 1301 it had been agreed that any statutes con-

[1] Not only had the laws of the Confessor been remembered in the days of John (cf. Burton Annals in *Annales monastici*, i. 213; Wendover (ed. Coxe), iii. 260), but the charters themselves had been put under his protection in the *Sentencia lata* of 1253. This text would be found in most volumes of statutes. For the cult of the saint at Westminster in the fourteenth century see the Henry Bradshaw Society's *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, col. 669n., 1359–60, and *Customary of St. Augustine, Canterbury and St. Peter, Westminster*, ii. *passim*.

[2] Palgrave, *Documents illustrating the history of Scotland*, pp. cxcvi ff, 367.

[3] Annales Londonienses in *Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II*, i. 212.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

trary to the charters, or any article in them, should be amended or annulled by common counsel of the realm : [1] but this, perhaps, might be held to have been swept aside by Clement V's bull. The same principle, however, is invoked in the Ordinances of 1311,[2] and again in the charter to London granted in 1327 which, after reciting that the liberties of the city have been infringed both by judgements in the king's courts and by statutes, lays down that the citizens are to enjoy their liberties as provided by the great charter.[3] Clearly, in 1308, in the eyes of the baronage at least, no sanctity attached to Edward I's legislation, whereas a special sanctity did attach to the charters ; and we must conclude that Edward II's advisers were not in error when they asserted that the charters were particularly in view when the coronation oath was framed.

To put briefly into plain language those things to which the coronation oath bound the king risks giving a sharp outline to what seems intentionally blurred and indistinct. Even the second and third interrogations veil with many words the simple demand, as it would seem, that the king shall pursue peace and justice. The first and fourth appear to resolve themselves into a demand for a guarantee of those ancient privileges which had been attacked and limited by the *quo warranto* proceedings of Edward I, for a guarantee that the charters would be observed, and for a guarantee that those agreed corrections or amplifications of the law shall be observed which the commonalty have demanded or willingly accepted. But although, as contemporary evidence seems to show, these three undertakings at least might be read into the king's promises, their implications were left vague, and the interpretation was therefore

[1] *Parliamentary writs*, i. 104 ; *Statutes of the realm*, i, Charters, p. 44 ; Bémont, *Chartes des libertés anglaises*, p. 109.

[2] *Statutes of the realm*, i. 165, c. 31.

[3] Annales Paulini, p. 327 ; cf. Richardson and Sayles, *The early statutes*, p. 29 ; C. H. McIlwain, "Magna Carta and common law", *Constitutionalism and the changing world*, pp. 150–1, reprinted from *Magna Carta commemoration essays*, pp. 148–9.

dependent upon the course of events. Even to get Edward to pledge himself so far was much. It might be supposed that he gave his approval to the coercive measures of the barons which, in previous reigns, had forced an unwilling king to concede the laws chosen by the "commonalty" and, on this supposition, it might be taken that he himself was pledged for the future to leave the initiative to them. But he certainly was not tied by any explicit promise.

The idea, indeed, that Edward II's coronation oath definitely bound him to maintain and preserve legislation by —in Maitland's words—"the whole body of the realm concentrated in parliament"[1] appears to be effectively disproved by the king's own words. In the last despairing days before his flight from Isabelle and Mortimer, he put out a manifesto to the troops he was seeking to raise, and in it he thought fit to recall that he had sworn to maintain and follow the judgements of the peers and parliament, as well as the judgements of his justices and the laws and customs of the realm.[2] Now, if the oath Edward had in mind was his coronation oath, it would be strange if he did not make this plain, but his words suggest that he meant a quite specific oath taken at a different time. When that oath was sworn it is difficult to tell, but seemingly it was in the earlier years of the reign, for in 1317, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, had occasion to remind the king that they were bound by a mutual oath to discuss certain kinds of matters in parliament and in the presence of the peers of the land.[3] This mutual oath cannot, on any interpretation, be the coronation oath. There seems to have been much swearing of oaths in the faithless days of Edward's reign, but if the coronation oath had the unambiguous meaning that Maitland and others have thought, there would have been no need for a second oath which in express

[1] *Constitutional history*, p. 100.
[2] *Foedera*, ii. ii. 643–4; *Parliamentary writs*, ii. i. app. 292.
[3] Murimuth, *Continuatio Chronicarum*, p. 273.

terms referred to parliament. Perhaps I should add that we cannot, if we seek to share the thoughts of the fourteenth century, draw a fine distinction between judgements in parliament and legislation in parliament.

We must not overlook one significant and deliberate omission from the oath of 1308. The promise to protect the rights of the crown, which Edward I had used to the discomfiture of his subjects, has gone, and this we may take as a token of a new policy of conciliation. Edward II had not, however, renounced any of his claims, and the oath of allegiance taken at the coronation was still regarded as binding his subjects to protect the rights of the crown. So when, not very long afterwards, the king's action in collating one of his servants to a benefice was disputed, we find him informing Clement V that he is bound by his kingly office to preserve intact the rights of the crown, and assuring the pope that, even if he were willing to give way, the great men and nobles would, in virtue of their oath, refuse to countenance any such abandonment of the king's right.[1] Moreover, although the king could no longer make such play with his coronation oath as did Edward I, yet from time to time concessions made in parliament might still be swept aside on the plea that they violated the rights of the crown.[2]

We cannot wonder, then, that the coronation oath does not employ plain language to express plain agreements: only by using general formulas, capable of more than one meaning, was there any possibility of reconciling two different views on the king's "estate", which, with the best will in the world, could not be squared with one another on points of detail. Even so, some points were left out of the oath that seemingly the leading barons would have wished in, for the office provides that, in addition to the promises there expressly prescribed, other lawful matters may be

[1] *Foedera*, ii. i. 96.

[2] Cf. C. H. McIlwain, *Growth of political thought in the West*, pp. 376–9; Richardson and Sayles, *The early statutes*, pp. 27–9.

added: and the fullest account of Edward II's coronation we possess is careful to remark that nothing was added to the oath.[1] We may conclude, therefore, that nothing more was conceded by Edward II, but that the door was left open to the exaction of a fresh undertaking from a future king; and, indeed, the opening rubric of the office prescribes that, on the morning of the coronation, the prelates and nobles shall confer regarding the confirmation and firm establishment of the laws and customs of the realm.

Between 1308 and 1327 the introductory rubrics of the coronation office were recast, but this direction providing for a conference of the prelates and nobles was retained, as it was when, fifty years or so later, there was a further recasting of the rubrics. But there is no reason to suppose that any additions were at any time made to the oath: apart, that is, from the *admonicio episcoporum*, which required an undertaking to respect the privileges of the clergy, and was added on the final revision of the office.[2] The oath taken by Edward III was in the same terms as his father's, and was, of course, in French. It would seem that, among the bystanders in the Abbey on 1 February 1327, the propriety of the fourth interrogation was questioned. John of Sudeley asked the bishop of Rochester whether the king should consent to keep the law which his people chose, and the bishop assured him that, unless the king swore to observe the laws, he would not be crowned.[3] Remarkable as this conversation is as evidence of contemporary interest

[1] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xvi. 7, 10.

[2] Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 88. This seems to make it clear that the oath of 1308 was not regarded as safeguarding the *privilegium fori* or other specifically ecclesiastical rights, such as canonical election.

[3] Historia Roffensis (Faustina B.V), fo. 49: Dominus Iohannes de Suly miles Roffensem episcopum requisiuit an rex legem quam populus suus elegit custodire vellet, episcopus querenti respondens quod alioquin non coronabitur nisi prius prestito iuramento de seruando leges. John of Sudeley had been the king's chamberlain in 1306 (*Cal. Patent Rolls, 1301–7*, p. 460), but he seems not to have been holding any official position in 1327.

in the question, there is no likelihood that those in high places challenged the form of oath. Their anxiety was to carry the revolution through with all possible speed, and they were hardly in a mood to raise inconvenient questions. So the form remained unchanged and was handed down to modern times.

To say that the form remained unchanged requires some qualification. Working as we do from printed texts, it needs an effort of the imagination to realise how difficult it was in the fourteenth century to be sure that one had a word-perfect copy of any document: the time, indeed, had not yet come when more than a small minority of men put a high value on literal accuracy and correct citation. Almost from the first, versions of the coronation oath were circulated which gave a text neither that of the official French version nor that of the Latin office. French translations of the office, which seem certainly to have been made in time for the coronation of 1308, provided a rendering of the Latin with which no one can find serious fault, but this rendering does not give the words of the oath as they were actually spoken: in particular, the laws that the king pledges himself to observe are said to be those which *la commune de vostre realme eslira*. In 1327 a fresh translation was made of the newly revised Latin office, and we get a fresh rendering of the oath: it tells us that the king pledges himself to observe the laws *quels le poeple eslira*.[1] Then, as we have seen, Christ Church, Canterbury, preserved a version of its own, while Bury St. Edmund's preserved another, and Winchester yet another.[2] It was a matter of chance whether, in a volume of statutes or a collection of official documents, the coronation oath was given in the authoritative French form or in the form of an extract from the coronation office, or in both these forms, and it is not altogether surprising that a spurious form of oath should

[1] *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xiii. 142: compare the words of the authoritative form cited above.

[2] *Ibid.*, xiv. 9, 148; xvi. 2, n. 5.

find a place in a fifteenth-century abridgement of the statutes.[1]

While some volumes of statutes might here and there preserve it, nevertheless the authoritative form of oath seems soon to drop out of sight.[2] When, in 1399, it was desired to prove that Richard II had violated his coronation oath, recourse was not had to the official text, such as is to be found on the close rolls of 1 Edward II and 1 Edward III, nor even to the revised "Liber Regalis" preserved in Westminster Abbey: the authority given in the "record and process" of deposition is the form of oath contained in the pontificals of the archbishops and bishops.[3] In the fifteenth century French passes out of common use, and, in a document known as the Little Device, which is certainly as old as the time of Richard III, there is imbedded a shortened English version of the coronation office.[4] The form of oath here given appears to be in the words actually spoken. This is a matter of inference, but the inference is supported by a later official document setting out the arrangements for the coronation of Edward VI. This document, which is itself based upon the Little Device, quite clearly provides for the archbishop's interrogations and the king's answers to be in English.[5] It is, moreover, reasonable to suppose that the use of French, which was the

[1] Above, p. 131. Harl. MS. 1317 (which contains the oath at fo. 82*b*) appears to be earlier, though not by many years, than Lettou and Machlinia's printed text, which is ascribed to 1481. For later editions, see *Bulletin Inst. Hist. Research*, xiii. 144. An English translation, different from that of the abridgements, is to be found independently in a legal collection written soon after 1500, Harl. MS. 1777, fo. 75*b*.

[2] A garbled version of it was introduced into a document known as the "Forma et modus" which purports to prescribe the arrangements for the coronation. The date of this is uncertain, but it must be in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–82: the oath is at pp. 178–9).

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 417*b*.

[4] Add. MS. 18669: although this manuscript has been adapted to suit Henry VII's coronation, there is no question that it was prepared, or is a contemporary copy of the Little Device prepared, for Richard's coronation on 6 July 1483.

[5] *Acts of the privy council, 1547–50*, pp. 29–33.

rule in the fourteenth century,[1] gave way to English in the fifteenth, and not that the vernacular was abandoned for Latin.

It is of interest to note that, in the earliest form of the Little Device which has come down to us, that of 1483, the laws which the king promises to strengthen and defend are unequivocally such "as to the worship of God shall be chosen by your people in parliament". With the development of parliamentary government, the translator found this a natural meaning to give to the Latin "per te esse protegendas et ad honorem Dei roborandas quas vulgus elegerit". But however natural this interpretation might be, the reference to parliament was an obvious gloss on the Latin words of the office, and it might be construed as a limitation on the crown. Certain it is that the reference was struck out of subsequent revisions of the Little Device,[2] and that in 1547 there was a significant alteration, when it was made clear that new laws are for the king to make and that the people's part is to consent.[3] Subsequently words were introduced to save the royal prerogative, and it was not until the act of 1689 that parliament was again mentioned in the oath.[4]

The later fortunes of the coronation oath are matters, however, upon which I can hardly touch. My purpose has been to explain, so far as the documents at present available permit, how the history of the coronation oath is wrapped up in the history of the struggle for the charters, and therefore, in particular, with the history of Edward I and Edward II. That struggle was won—dare I say, by feudalism? —when Edward III was placed upon the throne. The

[1] The evidence of the "Forma et modus" seems to point to the use of French at the coronation of Henry IV: cf. Schramm, *Ordines-Studien III*, p. 370.

[2] Legg, *op. cit.*, p. 230; Maskell, *Monumenta ritualia*, ii. xlix–l.

[3] *Acts of the privy council, 1547–50*, p. 31. This doctrine had been expressed in very similar terms two centuries before: see Richardson and Sayles, *The early statutes*, p. 39.

[4] For the changes in the form see Legg, *op. cit.*, pp. xxix-xxxi.

malentendu, to use M. Bémont's word,[1] between the king and his mightier subjects persisted nevertheless, and, after the breakdown of feudalism, the history of the coronation oath is not without its interest in the wider history of the evolution of limited monarchy. With the fall of the *ancien régime* in 1689—the words are again M. Bémont's—a new chapter begins: but with that chapter I am in no way concerned.

[1] *Chartes des libertés anglaises*, p. xlviii.

THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER COUNCIL AND COURT OF DUCHY CHAMBER

The Alexander Prize Essay

By R. Somerville, B.A., F.R.Hist.S.

Read 13 June 1940

The origin of that court of equity which sat at Westminster as the court of duchy chamber has prompted more than one guess, but none of the guesses has reached the truth. Their authors, in applying the Lucretian principle *ex nihilo nihil fit* and by searching for a definite act of creation, have forgotten an equally profound truth so well emphasised in medieval English history, that few of our great institutions were created all at once, or sprang into life completely armed like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus. Most of these writers have seen in Henry IV's accession to the throne a sharp dividing line in the history of the duchy of Lancaster, which in fact it was not. The charter by which Henry IV regulated the status of the duchy in 1399 expressly provided for a continuance of the existing administration.

Another factor in obscuring the origin of this court has been a confusion with the chancery court of Lancashire. This chancery was set up by a definite act in the middle of the fourteenth century and revived soon after; in the course of time it acquired an equity jurisdiction similar to that exercised by the royal chancery. But its jurisdiction was, and still is, limited to Lancashire, whereas the court of duchy chamber had a much wider range. This confusion is apparent in legal works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; Coke continued the miscon-

ception, with the result that even modern writers of repute have been led astray.[1] It is a matter for surprise that the Lancashire historian Henry Fishwick, who published some of the proceedings of the duchy court relating to his county, should have reasserted that the court was established by Henry IV in separating the duchy from the crown possessions.[2] In this he was following the standard account in Baines' *History of the county palatine and duchy of Lancaster.*[3]

Yet another theory was advanced by Hale in the seventeenth century, with some hesitation it is true, that the equity jurisdiction of the court probably began in the time of Henry V.[4]

The problem of the court's origin is simplified with the realisation that the institution known after 1399 as the duchy of Lancaster was but the patrimony of the house of Lancaster. As such, the duchy exhibited most of the features common to the establishments of other great lords. One of these features was a council, and it is the purpose of this essay to trace the development of the Lancaster council and to show that the court of duchy chamber was nothing more or less than the duchy council.

In the fourteenth century, when the foundations of duchy administration were being laid, several baronial or seigniorial councils are known to us, and two have been studied in some detail.[5] These councils have much in

[1] W. Lambard, *Archeion*, 1635, p. 231, confuses the two courts. Cf. *The Common-welth of England* (1589), pp. 127–8. Coke, *Fourth Inst.* (1648), pp. 204–210. Holdsworth, *Hist. Engl. Law*, i (1922), 114–117, includes the duchy court under the general head of the palatinate of Lancaster. He seems to suggest that the duchy court dates only from the beginning of Henry VII's reign (p. 116), but knows it is distinct from the Lancashire court.

[2] *Lancs. and Chesh. Record Soc.*, vol. xxxii, p. v.

[3] Ed. Croston (1888), i. 68. Cf. M. Gregson, *Fragments* (1869), p. 39.

[4] 2 Lev. 24.

[5] The bishop of Durham (G. T. Lapsley, *County palatine of Durham*, pp. 138 ff.) and the Black Prince (Margaret Sharp *apud* Tout, *Chapters*, v. 370 ff.). Cf. Miss Levett in *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* (1924) for the council of the abbot of St. Albans.

common, and it seems certain that their prototype is to be found in the *curia* or council of the Frankish empire, composed as it was of great vassals, prelates, and the chief officers of state.[1] It is also tempting to find a connection between the baronial council and the honorial court, but this is not the place to work out that connection.[2] The baronial councils displayed a dual trinity, in their jurisdiction and in their composition. Their functions were advisory, administrative, and judicial, and in earlier times at least they were composed of the lord's great tenants or fellow magnates, his chief officers (who in the nature of things would usually be his household officers), and a legal element. By the fourteenth century, however, the magnates tended to disappear from baronial councils and consequently greater influence was wielded by the official element. This change must be connected with a parallel alteration of function, for the executive came to outweigh the advisory. In consequence the councils altered in size, just as the council of the bishop of Durham, which may have begun by being his entourage, changed in the fourteenth century to something smaller and more manageable. For our purpose it is worth emphasising the judicial work of such councils, in hearing appeals on feudal matters, and in deciding on disputed franchises or difficult cases from manorial courts. Specially significant is the commons' complaint of 1391, that men were compelled to appear before seigniorial councils to answer for their free tenements and other matters, real and personal, which ought to be decided at common law.[3]

For the first three earls of Lancaster the evidence for

[1] E. Perrot, *Les Institutions publiques et privées de l'ancienne France* (1935), p. 289 : G. B. Adams, *Council and courts in Anglo-Norman England* (1926), p. xxi.

[2] A. E. Levett in *Mélanges Lot* (1925), p. 423. For the honorial court, W. O. Ault, *Private jurisdiction in England* (1923), p. 2, and especially F. M. Stenton, *English feudalism 1066–1166* (1932), chap. ii. Miss Levett was primarily concerned with the influence of baronial courts on manorial courts.

[3] *Rot. Parl.*, iii. 285.

the existence of such a council is slight. There is no certain trace of Edmund's council, nor much of Thomas's, although it need not be supposed that they had none. Thomas's father-in-law, the earl of Lincoln, possessed an "assiduous council of indeterminate personnel" of which resident ministers, like the attornies and the auditors, were members, and sometimes receivers also attended; and, if we may believe Trokelowe, the earl advised his son-in-law to choose for his counsellors and ministers Englishmen "to do what is just and direct his court in all fulness and discretion." [1] As Thomas by his marriage took over the Lacy estates and their system of administration he would surely adopt a council on these lines if he had not one of his own already. Henry, the third earl of Lancaster, had a council which we find giving him advice and information in regard to his foundation of Leicester hospital, and another reference discloses Sir William de Blount and others of the council going to Rothwell at the earl's command to conduct an enquiry there.[2] With the fourth earl, who was created duke of Lancaster in 1351, we are on firmer ground. While he was earl of Derby, in his father's lifetime, he had his own council which not only gave its assent to his action, but is found also determining which manors should be included in a grant.[3] His council after he became earl of Lancaster is associated with him in executive action, and later we find him as duke receiving a petition with his council, as a result of which commissioners were assigned to enquire into the matter contained in the petition, concerning interference by the duke's bailiffs.[4] The most valuable evidence of his council, dating from 1348 when he was still earl of Lancaster, is the record of a council meeting held at the Carmelite Friars in London, where it was agreed that certain action should be taken by the earl.[5]

[1] J. F. Baldwin in *E.H.R.*, xlii. 187. Trokelowe (Rolls Series), p. 73.

[2] Duchy of Lanc. Misc. 9/4 ms. 44 and 26. Unless otherwise stated, references to records are to the duchy records in P.R.O.

[3] Misc. Books 2 fo. 398b and *ibid.*, 1 fo. 89b.

[4] *Dep. Keeper's Rept.*, xxxii. 339.

[5] Misc. Books 11 fo. 67.

The two extant registers of John of Gaunt reveal a council actively engaged in the administration of his estates, and also before their date there is evidence of his council exercising advisory functions, and hearing matters before it.[1] The editor of the earlier register saw in that council a division into official and unofficial members. Such a division might be assumed from what is known generally of baronial councils, but his division is a little arbitrary. The list which he has compiled indeed gives the members mentioned in the register. As official members he names the duke's chancellor (Ralph Ergham), three household officers—the steward, chamberlain, and controller—and the receiver-general. Ergham is never in the register specifically called a member of the council. The analogy of later practice might suggest that he sat with the council, and once in the register he appears as a feoffee of the duke together with five others who were definitely councillors.[2] And there is a petition addressed to the chancellor and others of the duke's council.[3] Of the six "unofficial" members who are named by the editor, two were chief stewards, two stewards of important honours, and two only appear to be non-official, although even one of these may have occupied an office.[4] Now the chief stewards always sat on the council *ex officio*. It is possible that some officers who were on the council did not owe that position to their office. Such was John Stafford, receiver in Lincolnshire and Huntingdon.[5] Others who at various times appear on the duke's council are Thomas Mapleton one of the auditors, the chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, the justices in Lancashire, and the steward and the receiver

[1] *Register I* (Register 1371–1375), ed. S. Armitage-Smith, Camden 3 Ser., vols. xx, xxi; *Register II* (Register 1379–1383), ed. Eleanor Lodge and R. Somerville, Camden 3 Ser., vols. lvi, lvii.

[2] *Register I*, no. 412. [3] Pal. Lancs. Warr. 1/102.

[4] Sir Roger Kirkton. In 1386 Sir Thomas Percy the uncle (later earl of Worcester) was a councillor, Misc. Books 15 fo. 50b. I do not find him as an officer.

[5] Pal. Lancs. Warr. 1/168 (1378). Cf. William Despaigne, feodary, *ibid.*, 180.

in that county. On one occasion the council was composed entirely of officers of the county palatine—the two justices, the chancellor, the steward and the receiver: the matter discussed concerned an enclosure in Lancashire.[1] At least once certain of the king's judges were associated with the council.[2] The conclusion to be drawn is that the council was an indeterminate body of varying size, and that the official members were predominant. The idea that the chancellor was at that time head of the council is not supported by the evidence: the chief of the duke's council in 1383 was Sir John of Ypres, who received a yearly fee of 100 marks.[3] He was not an official member, but he was among the duke's retinue. The evidence at least shows that the councillors may be described as belonging to the entourage of the duke, and it is safe to say that there were members who held no office. Frequently we read of the council without further specification, sometimes of one or two individuals named together with the vague phrase "and others of the council". In that undefined phrase must be included the strictly legal contingent. Fees were regularly paid to a group of attornies in the king's courts, and to serjeants and apprentices, who are covered by the description "gentz de conseil".[4]

Under John of Gaunt there is no record of a formal appointment to be member of the council, and it is fairly certain that no such appointments were made. The nature of the council hardly called for a formal appointment. When Sir Thomas Hungerford became a member of the council the fact of his appointment was only mentioned by the duke casually, in formally constituting him constable and steward of Monmouth.[5] Again, Simon Pakeman, who had long been with the duke of his council and steward of

[1] Pal. Lancs. Warr. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, 69.
[3] *Register II*, no. 899.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 1245; Pal. Lanc. Warr. 1/69.
[5] *Register I*, no. 358: "nous eiesmes ordeigne . . . d'estre de nostre counseil".

Leicester honor, requested a discharge from his office on account of age and ill-health: the duke allowed him to give up the stewardship, but retained him on the council for life.[1] In fact, the council members who were not officers might be described as being retained of council, or counsel, with the duke. This was very definitely so with the legal members, but there is also an actual case of a retainer of the first Earl Henry who was bound by his indenture of service to come with one knight on the earl's command in order to give his counsel ("pur counseiller").[2]

The only members of the council to receive a fee, apart from the chief of the council, were the lawyers. The others were either remunerated as officers, or, being members of the duke's court, received their keep as expressed by the phrase "à bouche de court". They might receive wages, as distinct from fees, when outside the court. Thus, when the duke's household of war crossed the sea in 1373 certain "gentz de conseil" being at London were entitled to wages.[3] The chief steward in the south received 4*s*. a day when engaged on the duke's business "en demurrant en nostre conseil"; and when this was raised to 6*s*. 8*d*. the wages were said to be paid while he was on the council outside the court.[4]

A distinction was drawn between the duke's council and his great council. The obvious explanation would be that the great council was a full meeting of all available members, or that it included non-official members who did not usually attend. But it is difficult from the existing evidence to be quite sure that this interpretation is correct.[5] The references to a great council do not occur in the earlier, but in the later of the two extant registers of John of Gaunt.

[1] *Register I*, no. 730.
[2] Misc. Books 2 fo. 490b (1327).
[3] *Register I*, no. 1382.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 1395.
[5] Dealing with the Black Prince's establishment Dr. Sharp implies that the great and the privy council were the same, but the privy council met in secret (Tout, *Chapters*, v. 382). Armitage-Smith's reference to a privy council of John of Gaunt is due to a misunderstanding of the phrase "de nostre privé conseil".

By its advice a few important actions were taken—the appointment of John Scarle as chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster: provision for supplies of money for the duke's household: and dispositions for the duke's daughter Katherine—although it was also concerned in one or two matters of less importance.[1] On other occasions when it is named it would seem by implication to be characterised by the presence of legal members, and this view is strongly supported by later practice in the fifteenth century. Thus it advised the duke as to his rights in connection with Evesham abbey.[2] And there is reference to a visit of the great council to Wales which must have been the sessions regularly held in the marcher lordships possessed by the dukes and duchy of Lancaster; but the same visit seems to be indicated elsewhere when the council is not called the great council.[3] That the two terms were sometimes at least interchangeable is further shown by the fact that in 1389, when the duke was abroad, a petitioner asked him for letters to his great council in England, not called so by the duke in the same connection.[4]

[1] *Register II*, nos. 781; 303, 308, 322, 713; 319; 1072; 1045. *Cf.* Pal. Lancs. Chanc. Misc. 154/6 m. 120 (1385), the justices in Lancs. not to proceed in a certain matter without assent of the duke and his great council. This is endorsed on a bill: the mandate issued under the great seal of the county palatine on the authority of a writ of the duke's privy seal (Pal. Lancs. Chanc. Misc. 154/6 m. 121) makes no mention of the great council, *Dep. Keeper's Rep., xxxii.* 359, no. 108, *i.e.* D. L. Chanc. Rolls 3 m. 21.

[2] *Register II*, no. 289.

[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 663, 621, 633. After 1399 there are two references to these sessions being held by the great council: Misc. Books 16 fo. 72 (1411) and Chancery Rolls 9 m. 3 (1442). The sessions in Wales were called the great sessions, to distinguish them from the courts held by the stewards. There are several instances of council members going to the country on judicial business (oyer and terminer at Higham Ferrers, *Register I*, no. 1250, nisi prius at Horncastle, *Register II*, no. 675, and *cf.* session at Lancaster *Register I*, no. 1684). Discussions between John of Gaunt's council and, for instance, the council of the abbot of Burton-on-Trent (*Reg. I*, no. 1310) point to activity of the legal element—the "counsel" *par excellence.*

[4] Pal. Lancs. Warr. 1/37, and *Register II*, no. 1235. *Cf.* Pal. Lancs. Warr. 1/78 (7 Ric. II) for great council in Bowland.

The usual meeting place of John of Gaunt's council was in London. There is no record of formal summons, and possibly none was given. Nor is it clear if meetings were regularly held. Miss Lodge thought there was at least one a year, but the number was certainly more, and it is no anticipation of later practice to say that they were held in the four terms, for this is clearly indicated by the directions given for returns or appearances before the council.[1] One thing is certain, that the council, or certain members of it, travelled about to distant parts of the duke's estates, in much the same way as some of the duke of Cornwall's council are known to have done.[2]

As happened with the duke of Cornwall's council, when a person wished to put a matter before the council of the duke of Lancaster, he could express it in a bill or petition which was then presented to the council. This was not the only means of approach, and no doubt many persons petitioned orally. Sometimes it is stated that a person has shown the duke a certain matter, or that the duke has heard such and such.[3] It is even possible that the first step was appearance in person and procedure by word of mouth, before the petition was reduced to writing. The extant petitions display a variety of address—a characteristic seen also in contemporary bills presented to the king or his council. Many of those extant ask for letters to the chancery of the county palatine of Lancaster for writs or grants under the great seal of the county, but this predominance is due only to the accident that most of the petitions owe their survival to preservation at the

[1] *Register I*, nos. 1640–1, 1744; *Register II*, nos. 187, 197, 318, 1109, etc.

[2] References to such visits are frequent, not only in the two registers, *e.g.* Pal. Lancs. Chanc. Misc. 154/3 m. 54 (Lancashire), Misc. Books 16 fo. 93 (Pontefract), Rentals and Surveys 15/1 (Leicester), and *cf.* p. 166, n. 3 and p. 4.

[3] *Register I*, nos. 1589, 1116; 1590, 1592, 948, 1301; 949 ("nous a donez à entendre"). For bills see *ibid.*, nos. 959, 1106, 1285, 1317, 1318, 1358, 1421, 1426, and 1262. Appearance before the duke, *ibid.*, 1173. Petition by tenants, *ibid.*, 1262.

Lancaster chancery.[1] Petitioners state their complaint or request, and ask for a remedy.[2] The bills were considered by the duke and the council, or by the duke or council alone; their finding was then endorsed on the bill, usually with a note of those present. On the extant bills this endorsement as a rule merely orders that a writ be issued as prayed by the petitioner. Sometimes the bill itself was to be sent to the chancellor of the county palatine for a writ to be issued, or for certain action to be taken. And it is clear from the registers that the same procedure applied to the duke's estates outside Lancashire; here the bill, duly endorsed, was sent with a covering letter under seal to the appropriate officer for the necessary action—usually to investigate the matter and set it right, occasionally to give information to the council.[3] But the officer is not asked to certify what he has done, as was later invariably required. Sometimes the matter contained in the bill was put in respite until the council came to a particular locality. In such a case the petitioner might be required to find securities to pursue the matter by the bill before the council when it appeared.[4]

There does not appear to have been at the time with which we are now dealing a well developed procedure for securing the appearance of persons before the council. We read, for instance, that the dean of Pontefract chapel was ordered to carry out certain instructions or else appear before the council in London on a specified day.[5] This becomes a very frequent form in the next century, but this example seems to be the only one from John of Gaunt's time. Again, a steward might be told to take securities from a party for appearance before the council on a certain day.[6]

[1] Warrants bdle. 1 and Chanc. Misc. bdle. 154.
[2] Pal. Lancs. Warr. 1/39, 168.
[3] *E.g. Register II*, no. 187.
[4] Respite, *Register II*, no. 185: *cf.* 621, 627. Securities, *Register I*, no. 1302.
[5] *Ibid.*, no. 1587. [6] *Register II*, nos. 343, 347.

The original function of the council had been to give advice, and in form this continued to be a large part of its duty. But in practice this function had developed into executive action. The council might advise the duke to grant a lease, to make a new extent, or to sell wood, but in effect the council took action ; [1] in the case of the wood sale the officer made his return to the council ; and in another instance it is plainly said that the council makes the sale.[2] A transitional stage is indicated in the purchase of a grange from the duke and his council.[3] The council could make orders for the payment of rent, or for the disposal of old plate, and enter into agreements for building works or for the disposition of goods seized for waste.[4] On its visits to the country it took executive action, although sometimes it did so in association with the duke, as when he and his council made ordinances regarding foresters by fee in the High Peak.[5] It was concerned with the duke's rights to certain knights' fees, and matters concerning accounts were shown to it and the duke.[6] Questions of title were examined before the council, and evidences and witnesses produced.[7] Persons charged with game trespasses might appear before the duke and council.[8] It made suggestions to the duke for the safeguard of his Welsh lands and castles ; and it entered into bonds for the duke's debts.[9] Finally, local officers could be summoned before it to give information or to receive instructions.[10] And when the duke was abroad the council left in England had the supervision of his estates, and he sent instructions to it.[11]

Some kind of secretarial organisation was required by

[1] *Register I*, nos. 303, 326, 1418.
[2] Sale of a manor hall (Snettisham) by the council, *Register II*, no. 1081.
[3] *Register I*, no. 947.
[4] *Register II*, nos. 821, 253, 795, 766. The council agrees to a grant, Pal. Lancs. Chanc. Misc. 154/1 m. 42.
[5] *Register I*, no. 85.
[6] *Register II*, no. 823 : Accts. Var. 3/2 m. 6b.
[7] *Register I*, nos. 1004, 1102, 1640, 1811. [8] *Ibid.*, 750.
[9] *Ibid.*, 1011 : *Register II*, no. 76.
[10] *Register I*, nos. 1641, 1744. [11] *Register II*, nos. 1235 ff.

all this work, and it may partly have been supplied by the household. But the clerk of the chief steward of the south parts bought parchment for business before the council,[1] and there was also a clerk of the council who in 50/51 Edward III provided parchment, paper and wax for rolls, memoranda and other evidences, not all of which can have been used in the council.[2]

John of Gaunt's son Henry of Bolingbroke also had a council during his father's lifetime; and the few traces of its existence show that it conformed to the usual pattern of such councils, but there is no record of "unofficial" members.[3] On it were the surveyor and governor of Henry's lands, his chamberlain, and some lawyers who were retained with a fee. It met in London, and at Peterborough (where Henry had his household), and like John of Gaunt's council it visited the estates. The usual procedure of petition or bill applied to Henry's council.

A council was therefore a well-established feature in the administration of the Lancaster estates at the time when they were annexed to the crown in 1399. If a duke of Lancaster had realised the practical advantages of a small body of ministers who directed the administration of his estates, a direction which his own political and military activities of necessity caused him to delegate to others, the more would a king of England be forced to rely on the same kind of body for the same work. Thus the council continued as a central authority for the duchy of Lancaster. Compared with the earlier baronial council, the duchy council after 1399 did not as a rule contain any magnates. It was normally official, if we include in that term the legal element. The two elements, the administrative and the legal, were distinguished by the receiver general in his accounts. The first group, consisting of the chamberlain, chancellor, the chief stewards, receiver general and the two

[1] *Register II*, no. 70.
[2] Accts. Var. 3/1 m. 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, 4, fos. 8, 11, 24b, 38b, 39b: Misc. 10/46: *The earl of Derby's expeditions* (Camden 2 Ser., 52), pp. 32, 162, 264.

auditors, received a furred robe every year for their livery. As in the time of John of Gaunt, the legal members were represented partly by the attornies in the various courts, and partly by serjeants and apprentices retained of counsel. All these were called persons of the council, or the council of law, or of counsel, and it is clear that they did not meet regularly as a council, for only the great officers could properly be called the council. The lawyers, and mainly the serjeants and apprentices, were only summoned on special occasions when their advice was required, or when some difficult problem arose.[1]

At the head of the council was the chamberlain, as he had been before 1399: at least in the earlier years of the fifteenth century this was so. Henry IV in July 1409 appointed Lord Beaumont chamberlain and chief of the council at a fee of forty marks.[2] But later we find, for example, an appointment by Henry VI of the duke of Somerset as "surveyor and principal councillor" of the duchy, with the first place of all the councillors in the duchy council house.[3]

Although a non-official element does not generally appear after 1399, a few rare exceptions tend to emphasise the rule. Thus, in 1452 Sir Richard Harrington, controller of the household, was appointed one of the councillors and of "counsel" of the duchy for life, with a fee of £40 for his counsel. He was debarred from being retained with any person but the king.[4]

There is no record of a clerk of the council in the first two reigns of the fifteenth century. The first clerk of the council of the duchy proper whose name is preserved is Dennis Bean. He had been clerk of the council for some time before he received a formal appointment on 18 November 1438, with a fee of 100*s*.[5] According to the terms

[1] *Consilium de lege*, Accts. Var. 5/2 fo. 13b; *consilium legis*, *ibid.*, fo. 29b; *ceux du conseille*, Misc. Books 17 fo. 101. For services of *jurisperiti* in parliament, Chancery Rolls 9 m. 4b, no. 44.

[2] Misc. Books 16 fo. 266.

[3] Chanc. Rolls 20 m. 2d.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Misc. Books 18 fo. 111. He was a layman.

of his appointment he attended on the duchy council at Westminster every term " for diverse appointements, actes, ordinances and other necessarie writynges ", and he had in his possession " rolls, muniments, evidences, books, chests, coffers and keys ".[1]

Although the council continued to visit the duchy estates at intervals, its meetings were mostly held at London, in the two places where it had met in John of Gaunt's day, that is, either at Westminster or at Blackfriars. The duchy chamber at Westminster was in the exchequer of receipt, and this continued to be the principal meeting place, at least of the council as a judicial tribunal, until the palace of Westminster was rebuilt a century ago. For the council chamber at the Blackfriars monastery, which was used chiefly for hearing accounts and for similar revenue matters, the duchy paid the friars an annual rent of 20*s*. for the easement.[2] Occasionally the council met in the fifteenth century in the chapter house at St. Paul's,[3] and in the reign of Henry VIII and later it sometimes used a house in the Savoy leased for a duchy office from the master of the Savoy hospital.

The council, with the chancellor, formed the chief authority for duchy administration. It exercised executive power, entered into agreements, arranged grants and leases, sold wood, buildings, and wool, and kept the officers and ministers of the duchy in order. It took a lively interest in financial matters, and it was before the council that the great audit of accounts was held about the time of Candlemas. Matters from local duchy courts came up before the council for enforcement, correction or settlement. Fines could be inflicted; and persons, especially accounting officers, were put into prison on the council's orders. In short, there was no branch of duchy administration which it did not direct and control. To particularise its manifold activities in the first half of the fifteenth century would be

[1] Chancery Rolls 9 m. 4b, no. 41. [2] Accts. Var. 4/8 fo. 23.
[3] *Ibid.*, 5 fo. 27.

outside the compass of this essay, but a few of them with a special bearing on the essay's theme may be mentioned in more detail. For this purpose the purely executive functions can be omitted, although these occupied a large part of the council's time, and of necessity entailed deliberation. It is the judicial aspect which is here emphasised; but it must not be forgotten that the executive and the judicial functions were not always sharply distinguished.

A considerable portion of the council's work was devoted to questions of title, and in this phase of its work the judicial aspect is very clearly marked. To establish title evidence was produced before the council and examined, and as a result of its deliberations the council would make an award, or give directions to local officers of the duchy.[1] Such questions arose not only between the duchy and another party, but also between two subjects where the matter in dispute came within the duchy's jurisdiction. In one case the local duchy officers had ousted a man from certain lands: the aggrieved party petitioned the council who thereupon ordered the steward to take security from him and, if the lands were adjudged his at common law, to return the lands to him.[2] Here the council is acting in support of the common law. There is a record of a meeting in the council house at Westminster on 17 November 1445 when a claim to lands was recognised after consideration of a petition, with copies of evidences produced in support of the claim.[3] Again, an interest in a grange in Suffolk had been recovered by the archdeacon of Ely by process of law against one John Archer of Thetford, and a copy of the process was shown before the council; Archer was informed by the council that if he wished to make any claim, he should in person bring his title before the council at Westminster on a certain day.[4]

[1] *E.g.* Misc. Books 15 fo. 109b (Hen. IV), 16 fo. 168 (an award made, Hen. IV).

[2] *Ibid.*, 15 fo. 72b.

[3] Chanc. Rolls 13 m. 11d, no. 136. *Cf.* Misc. Books 18 fo. 137b (1440), title to land.

[4] *Ibid.*, 17 fo. 90 (1414).

Title to land was not the only form of dispute which the council considered. For example, a difference arose between the town of Brecon and St. John's priory there over the priory's franchises in Brecon, the town then being in the duchy. Both parties were required to appear before the duchy council at Westminster, bringing their evidences, to receive the council's directions. The prior appeared with his counsel, but the mayor of the town did not; the duchy local officers were therefore told to allow the priory to enjoy its disputed franchises until such time as the town would show its proof.[1] In November 1465 certain members of the council were assigned to examine on the spot a long-standing dispute between the earl of Kent and the abbot of Ramsey of the one part and the bailiffs, tenants and inhabitants of Huntingdon and Godmanchester of the other concerning the passage of the river Ouse, and to determine the matter according to the king's laws.[2] The council is also found taking cognisance of breaches of the peace. Thus it directed certain high officers of the duchy (some of them being council members) to examine and correct a case of riot and disturbance in Leicester, and to certify their action to the council in London.[3]

Petitions or bills were presented to the council and considered by it, just as we found to be the practice under John of Gaunt.[4] Attendance before the council was commanded by letters under the duchy seal, and as this was a privy seal, such letters, classified originally by the duchy clerks under the general if inaccurate heading of " warrants ", were later referred to as privy seals. Occasionally the letters took the form of letters missive.[5] In the first half of the fifteenth century there are a few instances of a penalty expressed for non-attendance, foreshadowing the later *sub*

[1] Misc. Books 17 fo. 141 (1418). *Cf.* a later instance—Spalding priory v. tenants and inhabitants of Spalding lordship, Chanc. Rolls 34 m. 14 (1465).
[2] *Ibid.*, m. 13. [3] Misc. Books 16 fo. 160 (1406).
[4] The bills were filed (*ibid.*, 18 fo. 80b), but the files for this period have not survived.
[5] *Ibid.*, 18 fo. 36b. The usual form is, *e.g.*, Chanc. Rolls 7 m. 5.

poena.[1] For failure to comply with the summons a person might be attached by the sheriff, or commanded by the local duchy officer to appear in London.[2]

The evidence so far adduced for the judicial work of the duchy of Lancaster council after 1399 has been purposely restricted to the earlier part of the fifteenth century. But the council's work continued throughout the century without diminution. It did, however, suffer an important modification, and with this we come to the court of duchy chamber. Well on in Edward IV's reign there begins a record series of the utmost importance for our subject, namely, the entry books of decrees and orders. The earlier of these are strictly entry books of acts, and they are so described by contemporaries and even in the eighteenth century.[3] The first volume dates in the main from June 1478 to the end of Edward IV's reign, but it contains also the record of activities of the duchy council on progress through the duchy estates, the earliest date being March 1474;[4] there were probably no earlier books in the series. Originally, these books recorded proceedings before the duchy council such as arrangements for leases, matters concerning the payment of rent, and so on, together with memoranda of business before the council and of things to be done. Administration of the duchy estates figures largely in the earliest, but there is also ample evidence of the judicial activity which has already been noted as one of the council's functions. Such activity included the issue of process, the hearing of pleadings by parties in suits, not only in person but also by means of counsel, and the decisions of the council in these causes.[5] If the council did not itself determine a matter

[1] Misc. Books 18 fos. 88 and 143b.

[2] Attachment, Misc. Books 18 fo. 90, security, *ibid.*, 17 fo. 110.

[3] *E.g.* no. 3 fo. 280 (1506). W. D. Selby, *Lancs. and Cheshire records*, pp. xxxiii and 295.

[4] No. 1 fo. 123. The *Guide to the Public Records* (1923), i. 325, gives the date wrongly as 16 Edw. IV.

[5] Issue of process, no. 1 fo. 2: bill of complaint, *ibid.*, fo. 1: answer, *ibid.*, fo. 53b: replications, *ibid.*, fo. 65: depositions and examination, *ibid.*, fo. 109.

it usually left the decision to arbitrators, or remitted the matter to be decided at common law.[1] The council's own action is expressed by the formula "it is thought", varied occasionally with "it is ordained and advised", or "it is ordained, enacted and established".[2] The phrase "enact at London",[3] or "enact at Westminster",[4] reminds us that the council's deliberations at this time, if they did not materialise in the form of letters under the duchy seal with the council warranty (and this was by far the commonest warranty), took the form of an act of the council. Enacting by the duchy council is known as early as 1401/2,[5] but the earliest original act that I have found dates from 1440.[6] These acts, however, had certainly developed into orders by Henry VII's reign,[7] and "act" and "decree" appear as synonymous.[8] At the end of that reign there occurs the comprehensive phrase "it is ordered, decreed, ruled and adjudged by the chancellor and council of the duchy",[9] and finally, under Henry VIII, there were established in the duchy the types of judgments common to equity courts, namely, orders and orders and decrees.[10]

By Henry VIII's reign the entry books have undergone a change. The record of administrative work has largely given place to judicial proceedings, and even administrative matters are in part subject to the same procedure as legal causes. Entries now fall into two groups—notes of process issued and of subsequent proceedings thereon, and the copies of complete orders or decrees.[11] Here is unmistakably the work of a judicial court, in fact, of the court of duchy chamber, but there can be no question that the court is the same as the duchy council. Under Henry VIII the composition of the council, or the court, is the same as it had

[1] Arbitrators (sometimes legal members of the council), no. 1 fo. 37.
[2] *Ibid.*, fo. 72. [3] *Ibid.*, fo. 76b. [4] No. 2 fo. 2b.
[5] Misc. Books 15 fo. 119b. [6] D.L. Min. Accts. 1930.
[7] No. 3 fo. 51b, "it is ordered", 1486.
[8] *Ibid.*, fo. 186b. [9] No. 2 fo. 124. [10] *E.g.*, no. 5 fo. 7.
[11] The pleadings before the court have survived from Henry VII's reign onwards.

been a century and more earlier. The old phrase "chancellor and council of the duchy" continues to occur as a formal description in orders, although that body is referred to shortly as "the court". The first instance of the use of this word as applied to the duchy council appears to be in 1489,[1] and thereafter its use becomes more and more frequent.

The duchy council, then, appears as a court with an equity jurisdiction extending over all the possessions of the duchy, the procedure being by bill and answer in English. As the court of duchy chamber it thus takes its place among the other conciliar courts of the period, and its title must be due to the analogy of another and similar court which also sat in a chamber of the palace at Westminster, the court of star chamber. To treat fully of the jurisdiction and the procedure of the duchy court in the sixteenth and later centuries would be far outside the limits of this essay, but the general importance of this court may be gauged in that it served as a model for the court of wards, and that as an administrative body it was imitated in the means employed by Henry VIII to administer the crown lands and the vast possessions which he wrested from the Church.

[1] No. 3 fo. 61b.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. SESSION 1938–1939

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society have the honour of presenting the Annual Report to the General Meeting as follows :—

Mr. M. S. Giuseppi having, as was reported to the General Meeting last year, resigned the office of Honorary Treasurer to the Society, Mr. Malcolm Letts, F.S.A., consented to allow himself to be nominated by the Council as Mr. Giuseppi's successor, and at the Annual General Meeting held on 9 February, 1939, he was elected Honorary Treasurer. At that meeting Dr. Hubert Hall and Professor H. W. V. Temperley were elected Honorary Vice-Presidents. The Vice-Presidents retiring under By-law XVII were Charles Johnson and Dr. Rose Graham. A further vacancy was caused by the expiration of the term of office of Professor A. F. B. Williams co-opted under By-law XIX. Professor G. N. Clark, Professor Eileen Power and Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond were elected Vice-Presidents to fill the vacancies. The Members of Council retiring under By-law XVII were C. S. B. Buckland, Professor D. C. Douglas, A. V. Judges and R. Pares. Professor T. S. R. Boase, C. T. Flower, Professor E. F. Jacob and Professor W. Rees were elected Members of Council. Messrs. C. Ryland Beeby & Co. were appointed Auditors for the year 1938–39.

The following papers were read during the session 1938–39 :—

"The Camden Society, 1838–1938." By C. Johnson. (13 October 1938.)
"Some Factors in the Origin of Parliament." By J. E. A. Jolliffe. (10 November, 1938.)
"The Lincoln Diocesan Records." By Miss Kathleen Major. (8 December, 1938.)
"The First House of Bellême." By G. H. White. (12 January, 1939.)
"Roman Catholic Relief and the Leicester Election of 1826." By R. W. Greaves. (9 March, 1939.)
"The Growth of a Borough Constitution: Newark-on-Trent." By C. G. Parsloe. (11 May, 1939.)

The President, Professor F. M. Stenton, delivered an address at the Anniversary Meeting on 9 February, 1939, his subject being "The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: The English Occupation of Southern Britain." The Alexander Medal was awarded to Miss Hilda E. P. Grieve, B.A., for an essay entitled "The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553–1561." The essay of Miss Joan M. Long, B.A., entitled "Lord Granville and the Egyptian Question, 1881–1882," was awarded the recognition of *proxime accessit*. The presidential address and the Alexander Essay with the above papers were printed in *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXII. The Council are of the opinion that the holding of informal discussions at evening meetings of the Society has been a successful experiment, and a further series of such discussions has been arranged for the current session.

Transactions, Fourth Series, Volume XXI, reached Fellows in March 1939. It is hoped that the delay between the reading of papers and their appearance in print will be reduced in future years. There have also been published *The early charters of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London* (Camden Third Series, Volume LVIII), edited by Marion Gibbs, and the *Handbook of British Chronology* (the second volume in the series of Guides and Handbooks), edited by F. M. Powicke with the assistance of Charles Johnson and W. J. Harte, issued in December 1939, in respect of the session 1937–38; together with *The letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* (Camden Third Series, Volume LXI), edited by F. Barlow, in July 1939, and the second volume of E. Jones Parry's *Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and Princess Lieven, 1832–1854* (Camden Third Series, Volume LXII), in December 1939, in respect of the session 1938–39. The cost of the production of the *Handbook of British Chronology* was higher than had at first been anticipated, and the Council therefore decided that an additional volume in this series previously adopted in respect of the session 1937–38 should appear as a volume in respect of the session 1938–39.

The publication of *Writings on British History, 1935* was delayed by the crisis of September 1938, and the volume was not issued until March 1939. *Writings on British History, 1936*, it is hoped, will be issued early in 1940. It would be rash to speak with assurance of the Society's publishing prospects in war-time. The provisional programme approved for the session 1939–40 includes in addition to *Transactions*, Fourth Series, Volume XXII, and further progress with *Writings on British History*, two volumes in the Camden Series, namely *Camden Miscellany XVII*, and *British reports on trade and politics in Latin America, 1824–27*, edited by R. A. Humphreys. Other volumes already authorized by Council are in various stages of preparation. During the past session the Council has accepted proposals for the publication of a selection of the correspondence of Charles Arbuthnot, to be edited by A. Aspinall; for a bibliography of English medieval cartularies, to be edited by W. A. Pantin; and for the *Kalendare litterarum processuum et memorandorum ducatus Aquitanie, 1320–22* ("the Gascon calendar"), to be edited by G. P. Cuttino.

The Council have to record, with regret, the deaths of 10 Fellows during the session. Among these the Council would especially mention Reginald Lane Poole, an Honorary Fellow and Honorary Vice-President from 1896 until his death; the Very Rev. Henry Gee, Dean of Gloucester, an Honorary Vice-President from 1917 until his death; Professor H. W. V. Temperley, a member of Council 1913–28 and 1929–33, a Vice-President 1934–38, and an Honorary Vice-President from February 1939 until his death: and the Rev. Professor J. P. Whitney, a member of Council 1917–24, a Vice-President 1924–33, and an Honorary Vice-President from 1933 until his death. In addition 22 Fellows, 3 Associates and 4 libraries have been lost by resignation, and 3 Fellows by removal from the roll for non-payment of subscriptions. 25 new Fellows and 4 Associates have been elected and 6 libraries have been admitted as sub-

scribing libraries. The membership of the Society on October 31, 1939, was 897 Fellows, including Ordinary, Life, Honorary, and Corresponding Fellows, and 46 Associates. There were 289 subscribing libraries. Of the Fellows 2 were Honorary, 42 were Corresponding, and 160 were Life Fellows. There was a loss of 10 Fellows and a gain of 1 Associate and 2 libraries. There were 22 Societies, British and foreign, which exchanged their publications with the *Transactions* or *Camden Series* of the Society. In June 1939 the Society presented copies of a number of its own publications to the National Library of Peiping.

Further progress has been made in the collection of the publications of the record series published by various historical societies. Of these additions to the library particulars are given in the appendix to this report. There is also included in the appendix a list of the volumes of State papers published by H.M. Stationery Office to be found in the Society's library.

The Treasurer reports that the income of the year 1938–39 exceeded the expenditure chargeable against it by £79. This excess of income over expenditure has been transferred to a Publications Reserve Fund. The sum of £1,150 has been granted for Publications as against £1,300 in the previous year. The whole of the expenditure incurred by the removal from 22 Russell Square and the establishment of the Society in its new rooms has now been met, and the Lease Renewal Fund, to which this expenditure has been charged, shows a surplus of £112 0*s*. 4*d*. The balance of the General Income and Expenditure Account, representing the surplus of assets over liabilities and unspent allocations, amounts to £2,725 16*s*. 4*d*. compared with £2,666 6*s*. 4*d*. at the beginning of the year.

During the year under review, the following investments forming part of the Sir George W. Prothero bequest, were realized, viz. :—

£600 Buenos Aires Western Railway Co. — Ordinary Stock
£300 Central Argentine Railway Co. — Consolidated Ordinary Stock
£200 Central Argentine Railway Co. — Preference Stock 4½%
£506 Imperial Continental Gas Association — Capital Stock
£300 Mexican Railway Co. — Debenture Stock 6%
75 Shares Mountain Fuel Supply Co. — $10 each
R.M. Realisation Co. Ltd. (75 Ordinary shares) — on account repayment of Capital
£350 Rio Claro Railway Investment Co. — Irredeemable Debenture Stock 5%
165 shares Waste Heat & Gas Electric Generators Ltd. — 4% preference shares of 10*s.* each
330 shares Waste Heat & Gas Electric Generators Ltd. — Ordinary shares of 10*s.* each

The proceeds, together with a further amount of £31 7*s.* 9*d.* received from the Trustees, were re-invested as follows :—

£405 0*s.* 8*d.* Commonwealth of Australia 4% Redeemable Stock 1955–70.
£1,313 13*s.* 0*d.* India 3½ % Stock 1931.

APPENDIX

(i) *The following publications of record societies have been added to those already in the library :—*

British Record Society. *Index Library*, vols. XXXV and XLVI. [Completing set.]

Buckinghamshire Archæological Society, Records Branch, *Publications*, vol. I (1937) →

Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society. *Publications, Record Series*, vols. I, II, IV, V, VI, VII (1897–1929). [Vols. III and VIII wanted.]

English Historical Society. *Publications* (1838–50). 24 vols.

Hakluyt Society. *Publications*, 2nd series, vols. XIV, XV, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXVIII.

Henry Bradshaw Society. *Publications*, vols. XXXVII, XLV–LXVII. [Completing set.]

Lincolnshire Record Society. *Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude* (1891).

London and Middlesex Archæological Society. *Register of Freemen of the City of London* (1908). *Churchwardens' Accounts of All Hallows* (1912).

Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee. *Records Series*, vol. XII. [Completing set.]

Parker Society. *Publications*, vols. VI, XVII, XXI, XXIX, XXXI, XXXVIII, XLI, LII. [Completing set.]

Somerset Record Society. *Publications*, vols. V–VII. [Vol. XXVII wanted to complete set.]

Surtees Society. *Publications*, vols. XXV–XXVII, XXXIII, XXXV, XL. [Completing set.]

Wiltshire Archæological Society. Records Branch. *Publications*, vol. I (1939) →

Wiltshire Record Society. *Cartulary of St. Nicholas's Hospital, Salisbury* (1902).

(ii) *An effort is being made to complete the society's collection of British State Papers. The following volumes are now in the library :—*

CHANCERY RECORDS :

Calendar of Charter Rolls (1226–1516). 6 vols. 1903–27. [Complete set.]

Calendar of Patent Rolls (1216–→). 1891→ [Complete to date.]

Close Rolls. Henry III (1227–72). 14 vols. 1908–38. [Complete set.]

Calendar of Close Rolls (1272→). 1892→ [*Wants* Edward III, vols. I–XIV.]
Calendar of Fine Rolls (1272→). 1911→ [Complete to date.]
Calendar of Liberate Rolls (1226→). 1916→ [Complete to date.]
Calendar of Chancery Rolls. Various (1277–1326). 1912.
Calendar of Chancery Warrants. Vol. I. 1927.
Calender of Inquisitions post Mortem (1216→). 1898→ [Complete to date.]
Calendar of Miscellaneous Inquisitions. Vols. I–III. 1916–37.

EXCHEQUER RECORDS.

The Book of Fees (1198–1293). 3 vols. 1921–31. [Complete set.]
Feudal Aids (1284–1431). 6 vols. 1899–1921. [Complete set.]

CURIA REGIS. *Curia Regis Rolls* (*c.* 1189→). 1923→ [Complete to date.]

ANCIENT DEEDS. *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds.* 6 vols. 1890–1915. [Complete set.]

BLACK PRINCE. *Register of Edward, the Black Prince* (1346–65). 4 vols. 1930–33. [Complete set.]

STATE PAPERS.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Addenda. 2 vols. 1929–32. [*Wants* all other vols.]
Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (1547→). 1856→ [*Wants* Edward VI–James I, vols. II–IV (1581–97), vol. VII (Addenda, 1566–79). All other series complete.]
Calendar of State Papers, Foreign (1547→). 1861→ [Complete to date.]
Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (1574→). 1860→ [*Wants* vol. II (East Indies, 1513–1616).]
Journals of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations (1704–82). 14 vols. 1920–38. [Complete set.]

TREASURY RECORDS.

Calendar of Treasury Books. Vols. V, VIII→. 1911→ [*Wants* vols. I–IV, VI, VII.]

PRIVY COUNCIL RECORDS.

Acts of the Privy Council of England. New series, vols. I (1542→). 1890→ [*Wants* vols. XXXIII, XXXIV (1613–16).]

Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial series. Vols. III (1720→) 1910→ [*Wants* vols. I, II (1613–1720).]

SCOTLAND.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland (1509–1603). Vols. I, II. 1858.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (1545→). 1877→ [Complete to date.]

Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs (1501–54). 1932.

Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland. Vols. I→. 1908→ [Complete to date.]

Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland (1108–1509). 4 vols. 1881–8. [Complete set.]

Hamilton Papers. 2 vols. 1890–2.

Andrew Halyburton Papers. 1867.

IRELAND.

Ancient Laws and Institutes. Vols. I–III. 1865–73. [*Wants* vols. IV–VI.]

FRANCE.

Documents preserved in France. Vol. I (918–1206). 1899.

SPAIN.

State Papers, Spanish (1558–1603). Vols. I–IV. 1892–9.

ITALY.

Papal Letters. Vols. III→. 1897→ [*Wants* vols. I, II.]

Papal Petitions. Vol. I. 1897.

State Papers, Rome. Vols. I, II. 1917–26.

State Papers, Venetian. Vols. III→. 1869→ [*Wants* vols. I, II, IV, XXII.]

State Papers, Milan. Vol. I. 1913.

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS.

Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland. Nos. 1–99. 1858–1911. [Complete set.]

(iii) *Besides the volumes noted above, the library lacks the following series of State Papers :—*

TREASURY RECORDS.

Calendar of Treasury Papers (1557–1728). 6 vols. 1889.
Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers (1729–45). 5 vols. 1893–1903.

SCOTLAND.

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (1424–1668). 11 vols. 1882–1914.
Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum (1264–1600). 23 vols. 1878–1908.
Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (1473–1566). 11 vols. 1900–16.
Indexes to Registers of Deeds. 27 vols. 1915–34.
Documents illustrative of the history of Scotland. 2 vols. 1870.
State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots (1547–1603). 11 vols. 1898–1937.
Letters and Papers relating to the Borders (1560–1603). 2 vols. 1894–5.

IRELAND.

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland (1171–1307). 5 vols. 1875–86.
Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland (1509–1670). 24 vols. 1860–1912.
Carte and Carew Papers. 1864.
Calendar of Carew Papers (1515–1624). 6 vols. 1867–73.
Rotulorum Patentium et Clausarum Calendarium. 1828.
Patent and Close Rolls (1509–1603, 1625–32). 3 vols. 1861–4.
Irish Patent Rolls of James I. n.d.
Justiciary Rolls (1295–1307). 2 vols. 1906–14.
Inquisitionum Repertorium. 2 vols. 1826.
Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates. 1889.
Annals of Ulster. 4 vols. 1888–1901.

SPAIN.

Letters, Despatches and State Papers relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain. (1485–1553). 11 vols. in 16. 1862–1916.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Dr. I.—Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended October 31, 1939. Cr.

Expenditure.			£ s. d.
To Establishment Expenses :—			
Rent—96, Cheyne Walk	£218 18 0		
Rent—Warehousing of Stock	19 15 0		
Rates	51 7 1		
Fire Insurance	13 18 8		
Repairs	5 19 8		
Wages	52 0 0		
Extra Service and Cleaning	15 0 0		
National Insurance	4 7 10		
Workmen's Compensation Insurance	1 17 9		
Lighting and Heating	27 6 9		
Monthly Meetings—Refreshments	12 18 10		
			423 9 7
,, Secretarial and Administrative Expenses :—			
Salary	400 0 0		
Clerk's Salary—(Proportion)	48 0 0		
General Printing and Stationery	82 14 5		
Accountancy and Audit	31 10 0		
Postages	38 4 4		
Telephone	11 4 1		
Travelling Expenses	12 12 9		
Sundries	24 6 6		
			648 12 1
,, Library :—			
Grant			100 0 0
,, Other Charges :—			
Alexander Medal	3 5 0		
International Congress	15 15 0		
Friends of National Libraries	1 1 0		
British Records Association	1 0 0		
			21 1 0
,, Publications :—			
Directors' Honoraria	137 10 0		
Salary of Assistant Officer	350 0 0		
Clerk's Salary—(Proportion)	96 0 0		
Premium on Pension Fund for Assistant Officer	20 17 7		
Gross's *Sources*—final instalment	100 0 0		
Grant for Publications £1,150 0 0			
Proceeds from Sales 67 14 8			
	1,217 14 8		
		1,922 2 3	
		3,115 4 11	
Balance, being Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year transferred to Publications Reserve Fund		79 0 0	
		£3,194 4 11	

Income.			£ s. d.
By Arrears of Subscriptions received	£74 17 0		
Less Amount estimated to be received in last year's Accounts for subscriptions in arrear	35 0 0		
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate			39 17 0
,, Subscriptions now in arrear, estimated to be received			35 0 0
,, Subscriptions of 1939 :—			
50 at 21s.	52 10 0		
286 at 30s.	429 0 0		
653 at 42s.	1,371 6 0		
	144 18 0		1,852 16 0
,, Life Subscriptions			
Less Proportion required by By-Law IX to be invested (see Balance Sheet)	86 12 0		58 6 0
,, Proceeds from Sale of Publications			67 14 8
,, Dividends on Investments and Tax recovered			302 16 10
,, Interest on Deposit Account at Bank			5 5 1
,, The Sir George W. Prothero Bequest :—			
Dividends and Interest on Investments	675 16 1		
Income Tax recovered	142 7 6		
Royalties	14 5 9		
			832 9 4
			£3,194 4 11

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

II.—Publications Account for the Year ended October 31, 1939.

Dr.	£ s. d.	Cr.	£ s. d.
To Payments made during the Year:—		By Balance of Allocations at October 31, 1938 Brought Forward (including an estimated amount of £494 6s. 1d. due to Printers at that date)	1,096 11 9
Camden Third Series:		„ Allocation for Publications 1938/39:—	
Vol. LVIII	367 10 2	Grant £1,150 0 0	
Vol. LXI	327 8 9	Proceeds of sales 67 14 8	
Transactions, Vol. XXI	220 8 10	(As per Income and Expenditure Account)	
Postage, Packing and Sundry Expenses	9 19 3		1,217 14 8
Advance Payments to Editors, etc.	56 15 0		
	982 2 0		
„ Balance of Allocations at October 31, 1939 Carried Forward	1,332 4 5		
	£2,314 6 5		£2,314 6 5

NOTE: There is a liability to Printers in respect of volumes due at October 31, 1939 estimated at £880. There is also a further liability estimated at £200 in respect of volumes chargeable against allocations for subsequent years.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

III.—Balance Sheet as at October 31, 1939.

Liabilities			£ s. d.
Life Subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-Law IX) :—			
Amount brought forward from last Balance Sheet	£1,974 18 0		
Add Proportion of Life Subscriptions received in 1939 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	86 12 0		
	2,061 10 0		
Less Amount transferred to General Income and Expenditure Account	59 10 0		2,002 0 0
Publications Reserve Fund :—			
Amount transferred at October 31, 1939			79 0 0
Lease Renewal Fund :—			
Balance from last Account	210 16 4		
Less Expenditure since, incident to removal	98 16 0		112 0 4
Fund in Aid of Pensions :—			
Balance from last Account			2,706 4 6
Library (Re-organisation) Account :—			
Balance from last Account	47 10 1		
Add Receipts from sale of books withdrawn	158 14 11		
	206 5 0		
Less Purchases and Binding	202 3 8		4 1 4
Publications Account :—			
Balance of allocations at October 31, 1939			1,332 4 5

Assets.			£ s. d.
Investments, viz:—			
£699 9s. 9d. Consols 2½% valued at	in 1920	£314 0 0	
£300 Canada 3½% valued at		200 0 0	
£900 India 3½% valued at		500 0 0	
£879 3s. 6d. Conversion Stock 5% at cost		826 3 1	
£1,220 Conversion Stock 4½% at cost		1,177 2 3	
£2,823 0s. 1d. Conversion Stock 3½% at cost		2,408 18 9	
£465 Local Loans 3% at cost		451 13 11	
£400 Metropolitan Water Board 4½% "D" Stock at cost		470 1 0	
500 National Savings Certificates at cost		400 0 0	
£296 4s. New Zealand 4% Stock 1943/63, at cost		297 6 10	
			7,045 5 10
(Market value at October 31, 1939, £7,713 3s. 3d.)			
Cash at Bank: Current Account		95 15 2	
Deposit Account		443 12 11	
„ in hand		3 8 9	
			542 16 10
Stock of Publications :—			
As at October 31, 1938			600 0 0

Grant for the year			100 0 0			
Less Balance from last Account	£8 1 6					
Expenditure during the year	82 15 9					
			90 17 3			
				9 2 9		
Subscriptions Received in Advance				10 19 0		
The Sir George W. Prothero Bequest:—						
Balance from last Account			22,223 7 4			
Add Further amount received from Trustees			31 7 9			
			22,254 15 1			
Less Loss on realization of Investments			133 5 7			
				22,121 9 6		
"Writings on British History": Production Account:—						
Balance from last Account			759 6 3			
Less Expenditure during the year:						
Subsidies:—						
"1935" 2nd Instalt.	75 0 0					
"1936" 1st Instalt.	75 0 0					
Assistant's Salary	51 0 0					
Other Charges	16 12 3					
			217 12 3			
				541 14 0		
General Income and Expenditure Account:—						
Balance of accumulated income at October 31, 1938			2,666 6 4			
Add Amount transferred from Life Subscriptions Account			59 10 0			
				2,725 16 4		
				£31,644 12 2		

As at October 31, 1938			1,000 0 0	
Furniture, Etc.				
As at October 31, 1938			300 0 0	
Subscriptions in Arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)			35 0 0	
The Sir George W. Prothero Bequest:—				
Investments—As at October 31, 1938		£22,223 7 4		
Less Realizations		1,616 17 3		
		20,606 10 1		
Add Further Investments		1,514 19 5		
			22,121 9 6	
(Market value at October 31, 1939 £18,238 0s. 8d.)				
			£31,644 12 2	

We have examined the foregoing Income and Expenditure Accounts and Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society. We have verified the Securities appearing in the Balance Sheet. We report that the above Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Society, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Society.

C. RYLAND BEEBY & CO.,
Chartered Accountants, Auditors.

66 Basinghall Street, London, E.C.2.
November 22, 1939.

THE DAVID BERRY TRUST.

Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended October 31, 1939.

Dr. Cr.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.	*Payments.*	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, 31st October 1938, brought forward from last Account, viz.:—				By Printing and Postages	1	6	2
Cash at Bank £194 18 8				„ Balance in hand, October 31, 1939, carried forward, viz.:—			
„ in Hand 3 10 0				Cash at Bank £239 7 0			
	198	8	8	„ in hand 3 6 0			
„ Dividends on Investments per Charity Commissioners	45	10	6		242	13	0
	£243	19	2		£243	19	2

We have examined the above account and find it correct.

C. Ryland Beeby & Co.,
Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

66 Basinghall Street,
London, E.C.2.
November 22, 1939.

ALEXANDER PRIZE

The Alexander Prize was established in 1897 by L. C. Alexander, F.R.Hist.S. It consists of a Silver Medal awarded annually for an essay upon some historical subject. Candidates may select their own subject provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Literary Directors. The essay must be a genuine work of original research, not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. It must not exceed 6,000 words in length and must be sent in on or before February 28, 1941.

LIST OF ALEXANDER PRIZE ESSAYISTS (1898–1940) [1]

1898. F. Hermia Durham (" The Relations of the Crown to Trade under James I ").

1899. W. F. Lord, B.A. (" The Development of Political Parties in the reign of Queen Anne ").

1901. Laura M. Roberts (" The Peace of Lunéville ").

1902. V. B. Redstone (" The Social Condition of England during the Wars of the Roses ").

1903. Rose Graham (" The Intellectual Influence of English Monasticism between the tenth and twelfth centuries ").

1904. Enid W. G. Routh (" The Balance of Power in the Seventeenth Century ").

1905. W. A. P. Mason, M.A. (" The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order ").

1906. Rachel R. Reid, M.A. (" The Rebellion of the Earls, 1569 ").

1908. Kate Hotblack (" The Peace of Paris, 1763 ").

1909. Nellie Nield, M.A. (" The Social and Economic Condition of the Unfree Classes in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries ").

[1] No award was made in 1900, 1907, 1910, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1921. The prize Essays for 1909 and 1919 were not published in the *Transactions*. No Essays were submitted in 1915 and 1916.

1912. H. G. Richardson (" The Parish Clergy of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").
1917. Isobel D. Thornley, B.A. (" The Treason Legislation of 1531–1534 ").
1918. T. Plucknett, B.A. (" The Place of the Council in the Fifteenth Century ").
1919. Edna F. White, M.A. (" The Jurisdiction of the Privy Council under the Tudors ").
1920. J. E. Neale, M.A. (" The Commons Journals of the Tudor Period ").
1922. C. E. Martin (" The English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century ").
1923. E. W. Hensman, M.A. (" The Civil War of 1648 in the East Midlands ").
1924. Grace Stretton, B.A. (" Some Aspects of Mediæval Travel ").
1925. F. A. Mace, M.A. (" Devonshire Ports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries ").
1926. Marian J. Tooley, M.A. (" The Authorship of the *Defensor Pacis* ").
1927. W. A. Pantin, B.A. (" Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540 ").
1928. Gladys A. Thornton, B.A., Ph.D. (" A Study in the History of Clare, Suffolk, with special reference to its development as a Borough ").
1929. F. S. Rodkey, A.M., Ph.D. (" Lord Palmerston's Policy for the Re-juvenation of Turkey, 1839–47 ").
1930. A. A. Ettinger, D.Phil. (" The Proposed Anglo-Franco-American Treaty of 1852 to guarantee Cuba to Spain ").
1931. Kathleen A. Walpole, M.A. (" The Humanitarian Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century to Remedy Abuses on Emigrant Vessels to America ").
1932. Dorothy M. Brodie, B.A. (" Edmund Dudley, Minister of Henry VII ").
1933. R. W. Southern, B.A. (" Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration ").
1934. S. B. Chrimes, M.A., Ph.D. (" Sir John Fortescue and his Theory of Dominion ").
1935. S. T. Bindoff, M.A. (" The Unreformed Diplomatic Service, 1812–60 ").
1936. Rosamond J. Mitchell, M.A., B.Litt. (" English Students at Padua, 1460–1475 ").
1937. C. H. Philips, B.A. (" The East India Company ' Interest,' and the English Government, 1783–4 ").
1938. H. E. I. Phillips, B.A. (" The Last Years of the Court of Star Chamber, 1630–41 ").

1939. Hilda P. Grieve, B.A. ("The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553–61").
1940. R. Somerville, M.A. ("The Duchy of Lancaster Council and Court of Duchy Chamber").

DAVID BERRY PRIZE

The David Berry Prize was established in 1929 by David Anderson-Berry in memory of his father, the Reverend David Berry. It consists of a Gold Medal and Money Prize awarded every three years for Scottish History. Candidates may select any subject dealing with Scottish History within the reigns of James I to James VI inclusive, provided such subject has been previously submitted to and approved by the Council of the Royal Historical Society. The Essay must be a genuine work of original research not hitherto published, and one which has not been awarded any other prize. There is no limit to the length of the Essay. It must be sent in on or before October 31, 1943.

PRIZE ESSAYIST, 1937 COMPETITION

G. Donaldson, M.A. ("The Polity of the Scottish Reformed Church, *c.* 1560–1580, on the Rise of the Presbyterian Movement").

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—1940–41.

Patron.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President.

PROFESSOR F. M. STENTON, D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

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SIR REGINALD BLOMFIELD, R.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.S.A.
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PROFESSOR EILEEN E. POWER, D.Litt., Litt.D. (died 8 August, 1939).
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Z. N. BROOKE, Litt.D., F.B.A.
MISS ROSE GRAHAM, C.B.E., D.Litt., F.S.A.
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Furber, H., M.A., Ph.D., 2 Gregory Street, Marblehead, Mass., U.S.A.
Fussell, G. E., 3 Primrose House, Albert Terrace, N.W.1.

Galbraith, Professor V. H., M.A., F.B.A., 12 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh, 4.
Garrett, Miss C. H., M.A., c/o A. H. Morse, Esq., 50 Federal Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Garside, B., M.A., Falicon, 74 Ormonde Avenue, Hampton-on-Thames.
Gavin, Mrs. Catherine, M.A., Ph.D., 8 Queen Margaret Road, Glasgow, N.W.1.
Gay, Professor E. F., Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D., c/o Huntington Library, San Marino, Cal., U.S.A.
George, Mrs., M.A., Litt.D., 51 Paulton's Square, S.W.3.
George, R. H., A.M., Ph.D., Brown University, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
Geyl, Professor Pieter, Litt.D., Willem Barentzstraat 5, Utrecht, Holland.
* Ghatak, Professor Jyotish Chandra, M.A., 4 Boloram Bose Ghat Road, Bhowanipur, Calcutta, India.
Gibson, Strickland, M.A., 34 Hill Top Road, Oxford.
Gill, Professor C., M.A., Litt.D., Chestnut Lodge, Cottingham, E. Yorks.
Gipson, Professor L. H., Ph.D., Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
* Giuseppi, M. S., I.S.O., F.S.A., 72 Burlington Avenue, Kew Gardens, Surrey.
Glendon, E. T., M.A., The Causeway, Burwell, Cambs.
Gnana Viran, S. S., 70 Phayre Street, Rangoon, Burma.
Godley, The Hon. Eveline, Durrant's Court, High Halden, Kent.

Goldthorp, L. M., M.A., Cartmel House, Heckmondwike, Yorks.
* Gooch, G. P., C.H., M.A., Litt.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., 76 Campden Hill Road, W.8.
Goodman, Rev. Canon A. W., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., Dormy Cottage, 49 S. Cross Road, Winchester.
Goodman, Paul, 10 The Ridgeway, N.W.11.
Goodwin, A., M.A., Jesus College, Oxford.
Gotch, J. A., M.A., F.S.A., Weekley Rise, Kettering.
Grace, Miss M., M.A., The Laurels, Newick, Lewes.
Grace, W. F. F., M.A., Ph.D., Thornfield, Huyton, nr. Liverpool.
Graham, G. S., M.A., Ph.D., Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.
* Graham, Miss Rose, M.A., C.B.E., D.Litt., F.S.A., 12 Ladbroke Gardens, W.11.
Graham, Rev. W., M.A., L.Th., 30 Clarendon Square, Leamington Spa.
Grant, Professor A. J., M.A., Litt.D., 17 Gurney Drive, N.2.
Greaves, J. W., M.A., Sydney High School, Moore Park, Sydney, Australia.
Greaves, R. W., M.A., D.Phil., Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
Green, D. Walford, M.A., Courtenwell, Langton, nr. Tunbridge Wells.
Green, H., B.A., Lynton, West Waye, Brands Hill, High Wycombe, Bucks.
* Greene, C. H., M.A., Incents, Beacon Road, Crowborough, Sussex.
Grierson, P., M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
* Grime, Rev. A., M.A., Ph.D., Epworth Lodge, Brighton Road, Rhyl.
* Grimes, Rev. C. H. D., M.A., Connaught Club, 75 Seymour Street, W.2.
* Griscom, Rev. Acton, M.A., c/o Hession, Maker & Griscom, 52 Broadway, New York City, U.S.A.
Grose, C. L., Ph.D., 1600 Lincoln Street, Evanston, Ill., U.S.A.
Guedalla, Philip, M.A., 5 Hyde Park Street, W.2.
Guilday, Rev. Monsignor Peter, Ph.D., LL.D., Catholic University of America, Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.
Gumbley, Rev. W., O.P., St. Dominic's Priory, Southampton Road, N.W.3.
* Gun, W. T. J., B.A., 55 Wetherby Mansions, S.W.5.
Gupta, S. N. Das, M.A., Lucknow University, Lucknow, U.P., India.
Gwynn, D. R., B.A., D.Litt., 3 Queen's Terrace, Windsor.

* Hall, C. S., M.A., Heathfield, 3 Queen's Road, Bradford, Yorks.
Hall, D. G. E., M.A., D.Lit., Caterham School, Surrey.
Hall, Hubert, Litt.D., F.S.A. Cartref, Walderslade, nr. Chatham.
Hall, I. V., M.A., 148 Fishponds Road, Bristol.
* Hall, T. W., M.A., F.S.A., 6 Gladstone Road, Sheffield.
Halliday, W. R., M.A., LL.D., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Hampson, Miss E. M., M.A., Ph.D., Newnham College, Cambridge.
Hancock, The Ven. Archdeacon L. R., M.A., The Lion Hotel, Wiveliscombe, Som.
Hancock, Professor W. K., M.A., The University, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
Harding, W. G., F.S.A., Peckwater House, Charing, Kent.
Harley, J. H., M.A., 59 Parliament Hill, N.W.3.
Harlow, Professor V. T., M.A., D.Litt., 1 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.4.

Harmer, Miss F. E., M.A., The Victoria University, Manchester, 13.
* Harris, Sir Charles A., K.C.M.G., C.B., C.V.O., Greenhill Brow, Farnham, Surrey.
Hasluck, E. L., B.A., Heathfield, Western Avenue, Herne Bay.
Hattersley, Professor A. F., M.A., 10 The Avenue, Filey, Yorks.
* Havinden, Eric, M.A., 30 Park Avenue, Solihull, Warwickshire.
Hayden, Professor Mary T., M.A., 26 Cambridge Road, Upper Rathmines, Dublin.
Hazeltine, Professor H. D., M.A., F.B.A., West Lodge, Downing College, Cambridge.
Hazen, Professor C. D., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, U.S.A.
* Hearnshaw, Professor F. J. C., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., Hammerwood, Oxted, Surrey.
Heathcote, C. W., A.M., Ph.D., State Normal School, 215 South Walnut Street, West Chester, Pa., U.S.A.
Heatley, D. P., M.A., 28 Minto Street, Edinburgh.
Heaton, Professor H., M.A., D.Litt., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Hedworth-Whitty, R. G., M.A., Ph.D., Thone, Staplegrove Road, Taunton, Som.
Henderson, Professor G. D., D.D., D.Litt., The University, Aberdeen.
Henderson, J. M., M.A., King's College, Aberdeen.
* Henson, Bishop Hensley, D.D., Hyntle Place, Hintlesham, near Ipswich.
Hepburn, E., 111 Main Road, Sidcup, Kent.
Heriot, D. B., M.A., Ph.D., 64 Springfield Avenue, Aberdeen.
* Higham, C. S. S., M.A., 16 Leopold Road, S.W.19.
Hill, J. W. F., M.A., LL.M., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
Hill, Lady, Green Place, Stockbridge, Hants.
Hine, R. L., F.S.A., Willian Bury, Willian, Herts.
Hoare, H. P. R., B.A., 37 Fleet Street, E.C.4.
Hodges, H. W., M.A., Royal Naval College, Dartmouth.
* Hodgkin, R. H., M.A., The Queen's College, Oxford.
Hoggarth, A. H. G., M.A., Churcher's College, Petersfield.
* Hollingsworth, L. W., B.A., Education Dept., Zanzibar, E. Africa.
Holt, Miss A. D., 54 Ullett Road, Liverpool, 17.
Hood, Mrs. Ivo, Sidestrand, Cromer.
* Horn, D. B., M.A., D.Litt., Ettrick, Pentland Avenue, Colinton, Edinburgh.
Horne, Rev. W., The Vicarage, Lower Darwen, Lancs.
Horváth, Professor Eugene, Phil.D., II, Ilona útca 4, Francis Joseph Institute, Budapest, Hungary.
Hoskins, H. L., Ph.D., Tufts College, Medford, Mass., U.S.A.
Hoult, James, F.S.A.(Scot.), 12 Brookland Road, Stoneycroft, Liverpool.
Houseman, J. W., M.A., The Grammar School, Hipperholme, Yorks.
* Howard-Watson, Captain J. A., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.L., Bella Vista, Nicholas Road, Blundellsands, nr. Liverpool.
Howay, His Honour F. W., LL.D., Law Courts, New Westminster, British Columbia, Canada.
Howden, Miss M. P., M.A., 11 Falkener Square, Liverpool, 8.
Hoyland, J. S., M.A., Holland House, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham.

Hudson, G. F., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Hughes, Professor E., M.A., The University, Durham.
Hulme, H., Ph.D., New York University, Washington Square East, New York City, U.S.A.
Humphreys, R. A., M.A., Ph.D., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Hurnard, Miss N. D., M.A., D.Phil., Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.
* Hyamson, A. M., 32 Teignmouth Road, N.W.2.
Hyde, F. E., M.A., Ph.D., The University, Liverpool.
Hyde, H. M., M.A., 94 Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
* Hyde, J. H., B.A., 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, XVI^e, France.
Hyslop, R., F.S.A. (Scot.), 20 Thornhill Terrace, Sunderland.

* Ilchester, The Right Hon. the Earl of, Holland House, Kensington, W.8.
Irwin, Miss M. G., M.A., 7 The Butts, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
Ivamy, E., M.A., Redesdale, The Park, Cheltenham.

Jackson, Rev. Canon F. J. Foakes, D.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York City, U.S.A.
Jackson, H. S., 9 Howden Road, S.E.25.
* Jackson, Mrs. Nevill, 55 Bedford Gardens, W.8.
Jacob, Professor E. F., M.A., D.Phil., F.S.A., The Victoria University, Manchester, 13.
James, Miss M., M.A., 5 Arboretum Street, Nottingham.
Jamison, Miss E. M., M.A., 16a The Boltons, S.W.10.
Jenkins, R. T., M.A., Rhuddallt, Menai Road, Bangor.
Jenkins, Rev. Canon Claude, D.D., F.S.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Jenkinson, Hilary, M.A., F.S.A., Arun House, Horsham, Sussex.
Jessop, J. C., M.A., Ph.D., Beacon Hill, Lossiemouth, Scotland.
* Johnson, C., M.A., F.B.A., F.S.A., 13a Downshire Hill, N.W.3.
Johnson, J. D. A., LL.D., F.R.S.A. (Irel.), 5 Elton Park, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
Johnson J. H., M.A., Whitehorns, Cedar Avenue, Chelmsford.
Johnston, D. Hope, M.A., J.P., 1a Regent's Court, Park Road, N.W.1.
Johnston, Rev. J. B., M.A., B.D., 63 Cluny Gardens, Edinburgh, 10.
Johnstone, Professor Hilda, M.A., 20 St. Martin's Square, Chichester.
Johnstone, The Ven. Archdeacon S. M., M.A., F.S.A.(Scot.), Bishopscourt, Edgecliff, New South Wales, Australia.
Jolliffe, J. E. A., M.A., Keble College, Oxford.
Jones, Arthur, M.A., 31 West Hill Avenue, Epsom, Surrey.
Jones, A. E., M.A., 6 Primrose Drive, Gilstead, Bingley.
Jones, Rev. G. Hartwell, D.D., D.Litt. (Address unknown).
* Jones, G. P., M.A., 109 Ashdell Road, Sheffield, 10.
* Jones, Miss M. E. Monckton, M.A., Green Shade, Crowthorne, Berks.
Jones, Professor T. F., Ph.D., New York University, University Heights, New York City, U.S.A.
Jordan, W. K., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Scripps College, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.

Joüon des Longrais, Professor F., D.-en-droit, L.-ès-L., 4 rue de la Terrasse, Paris XVII, France.

Judges, A. V., B.A. (*Literary Director*), Oliver House, 53A Strand-on-the-Green, W.4.

* Kay, H., M.A., 15 Acre House Avenue, Lindley, Huddersfield.

Keenleyside, H. Ll., M.A., Ph.D., Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

Kelly, Rev. B. W., Corpus Christi House, 12 Trent Road, S.W.2.

Kelway, Clifton, F.R.G.S., St. Peter's Vicarage, Varna Road, S.W.6.

Kennedy, W. J. Rann, M.A., Hughenden Cottage, Hughenden, High Wycombe, Bucks.

Kenney, James F., M.A., Ph.D., The Public Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

Kerr, W. B., M.A., Ph.D., University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.

Ketelbey, Miss D. M., M.A., 5 St. Mary's Place, St. Andrew's, Fife.

*Khan, Sir Shafaat Ahmad, Litt.D., The University, Allahabad, India.

Khanna, Kahan Chand, M.A., Ph.D., Multan, Punjab, India.

King, Colonel E. J., C.M.G., M.A., D.L., The Old House, East Finchley, N.2.

Kingham, W. R., M.A., Icknield, Pitstone Green, near Leighton Buzzard.

Kinloch, Rev. T. F., M.A., Morville Hall, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

Kirkconnell, Professor Watson, M.A., Ph.D., United College, Winnipeg, Canada.

* Kirkpatrick, F. A., M.A., 2 Thurloe Court, S.W.3.

Kitchener, E. E., M.A., 34 Coombe Road, Croydon, Surrey.

Klingberg, Professor F. J., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.

Knappen, M. M., 945 Manning Avenue, East Lansing, Michigan, U.S.A.

Knight, L. Stanley, M.A., The School House, Pengam, Glam.

Krishnamachasi, T. M., H.H., The Maharajah's College, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.

Krishnamurti, N. A., Tirumalai Lodge, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.

* Krofta, Professor Kamil, Dr. Phil., Ejpovice, Czecho-Slovakia.

Laistner, Professor M. L. W., M.A., 4 Boardman Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.

La Monte, J. L., Ph.D., Dept. of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

* Langley, Rev. A. S., The Manse, Walsall Street, Wednesbury.

Langstone, Miss R. W., M.A., 30 Corser Street, Stourbridge.

Langton, Rev. E., B.D., The Manse, Kirkby Stephen, near Penrith.

Laprade, Professor W. T., Ph.D., 1108 Monmouth Avenue, Durham, N. Carolina, U.S.A.

Lapsley, G., M.A., Ph.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.

Law, Miss A., 135 Queen's Road, Blackburn.

Lawson-Tancred, Sir Thomas S., Bt., Aldborough Manor, Boroughbridge, Yorks.

Leftwich, B. R., M.B.E., 1 The Avenue, Barnet.

Lega-Weekes, Miss Ethel, Varnello, Topsham Road, Exeter.
Legg, L. G. Wickham, M.A., Foxcombe Rise, Boar's Hill, Oxford.
Lenanton, Mrs. C. M. A., Bride Hall, Ayot St. Lawrence, Welwyn, Herts.
* Lennard, R. V., M.A., Wadham College, Oxford.
* Leonard, Miss E. M., M.A., 13 Oakwood Court, W.14.
Le Patourel, J. H., M.A., D.Phil., Kyrton, Fosse André, Guernsey, Channel Islands.
* Lepper, R. S., LL.M., Elsinore, Crawfordsburn, Co. Down.
Letts, Malcolm, F.S.A. (*Hon. Treasurer*), 27 West Heath Drive, N.W.11.
Lewis, Professor E. A., M.A., D.Sc., University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Lewis, Frank R., M.A., D.Phil., Gorphwysfa, Aberystwyth.
Lewis, Professor M. A., M.A., Royal Naval College, Greenwich, S.E.10.
Lewis, T. H., M.A., 79 Heath Park Avenue, Cardiff.
Leys, Mrs. J. A., M.A., B.Litt., The Cedars, Martock, Som.
Leys, Mrs. K. K. M., M.A., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
* Lipson, E., M.A., New College, Oxford.
Little, Andrew G., M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A., Risborough, Vine Court Road, Sevenoaks.
* Littler, Rev. H. D., M.A., Red Barns, Redcar.
Lloyd, H. I., O.B.E., M.A., Civil Court, Basrah, Iraq.
* Lloyd, Professor Sir John E., M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., Gwaen Deg, Bangor.
Lloyd-Owen, Lieut.-Commander J. H., R.N., Admiralty Historical Section, Audit House, Victoria Embankment, E.C.4.
Lock, Arthur B., Dulwich Road School, Kingstanding, Birmingham.
Lockitt, C. H., M.A., Easedown, Kingstouridge, Lewes.
* Longden, Rev. H. I., M.A., F.S.A., Heyford Rectory, Northampton.
Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., F.S.A., St. David's, Chipping Campden, Glos.
* Loyd, L. C., B.A., 25 Moore Street, S.W.3.
Lumb, Miss S. V., M.A., 42 Norwood Avenue, Kersal, Manchester, 7.
Lunt, Professor W. E., Ph.D., Haverford College, Haverford, Pa., U.S.A.
* Lybyer, Professor A. H., A.M., Ph.D., 1006 West Nevada Street, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
* Lydall, John French, M.A., LL.D., 37 John Street, Bedford Row, W.C.1.
Lydekker, J. W., M.A., F.S.A., The White House, Harpenden, Herts.
Lyell, James P. R., J.P., B.Litt., The Knowl, Abingdon, Berks.

Macalister, Professor R. A. S., Litt.D., F.S.A., 18 Mount Eden Road, Dublin, S.W.1.
Macartney, C. A., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
* McClellan, Professor George B., M.A., LL.D., 2424 California Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
McCoy, C., Eagle Dell, Ware Road, Hailey, Hertford.
McElroy, Professor R., M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., 78 Banbury Road, Oxford.
McFarlane, K. B., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
McHaffie, W. H., M.A., Bow Central School, Coborn Street, E.3.
McIlwain, Professor C. H., Ph.D., LL.D., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

McKay, D. C., A.B., M.A., Ph.D., 232 Prospect Street, Belmont, Mass., U.S.A.
Mackie, Professor J. D., M.A., 9 The University, Glasgow, W.2.
McKisack, Miss May, M.A., B.Litt., Somerville College, Oxford.
McLachlan, Rev. H., M.A., D.D., Summerville, Victoria Park, Manchester.
McLaughlin, Professor A. C., A.M., LL.D., 5609 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
MacLaughlin, M. C., M.A., Overton Lea, Cheltenham.
McMaster, Mrs. Ian, M.A., Eton College, Windsor.
McNamara, W. H., 29 Campbell Road, E.17.
McNulty, Rev. J., B.A., Everton Valley Convent, Liverpool.
Magrath, C. J., O.B.E., D.Litt., 173 Rustlings Road, Sheffield.
Mainwaring, J., M.A., D.Litt., Lingwood, St. James' Road, Dudley.
Major, Miss K., B.A., B.Litt., 21 Queen's Way, Lincoln.
* Malden, Rev. E. E., M.A., M.B.E., The Vicarage, Cust, North Canterbury, New Zealand.
Malden, The Very Rev. R. H., M.A., B.D., The Deanery, Wells.
Manning, B. L., M.A., Jesus College, Cambridge.
Marshall, Miss D., M.A., Ph.D., University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.
Marshall, Professor R. L., M.A., LL.D., 1 College Avenue, Magee College, Londonderry.
* Marten, C. H. K., M.A., Waynflete House, Eton College, Windsor.
Martin, Miss E. C., M.A., Ph.D., Westfield College, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Martin, Thomas P., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., MSS. Dept., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Marvin, F. S., M.A., H.M.I., Pantiles, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
* Mason, Rev. W. A. Parker, M.A., Ardleigh Vicarage, Colchester.
Mathew, Rev. A. G., M.A., Blackfriars, Oxford.
* Mathew, Rev. D. J., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., 1 Woburn Square, W.C.1.
* Mathur, Tikait Narain, B.A., LL.B., 30/27 Chili-ent Road, Agra, U.P., India.
Mears, R. A. F., M.A., B.Litt., 12 Polstead Road, Oxford.
Medley, Professor D. J., M.A., Ashby, Tydehams, Newbury, Berks.
Medlicott, W. N., M.A., University College, Swansea.
Mellows, W. T., LL.B., The Vineyard, Vineyard Road, Peterborough.
Merriman, Professor Roger B., M.A., Master's Lodgings, Eliot House, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Methley, Miss Violet M., 131 Sunny Gardens Road, N.W.4.
Miller, W., M.A., F.B.A., British Archæological School, Rue Spensiopos, Athens, Greece.
Milne, A. T., M.A., 14 Allison Grove, S.E.21.
* Moir, Rev. A. L., M.A., Burleydam Vicarage, Whitchurch, Salop.
Moody, Professor T. W., B.A., Ph.D., Trinity College, Dublin.
* Moor, Rev. Charles, M.A., D.D., F.S.A., 50 Harrington Gardens, S.W.7.
Moore, H. Stuart, F.S.A., 6 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.4.
Moore, Miss M. F., M.A., Ph.D., 135 Mayfield Road, Edinburgh, 9.
* Moorman, Mrs., B.A., Fallowfield Rectory, Manchester.
Moreton, Rev. Canon H. A. V., B.A., D. ès Lettres (Besançon), The Close, Hereford.

* Morgan, Professor W. T., M.A., Ph.D., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., U.S.A.
* Morison, Professor J. L., M.A., D.Litt., The Park, Toward, Dunoon, Argyllshire.
Morley, T. H., B.Sc., 312 King's Road, Reading.
Morrah, D. M. M., M.A., 33 Bedford Place, W.C.1.
Morrell, W. P., M.A., D.Phil., 4 Alma Terrace, W.8.
Morris, Ernest, 24 Coventry Street, Leicester.
* Morris, Rev. Professor H. C. S., M.A., 28 The Close, Salisbury.
Morris, Professor W. A., Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A.
Mounfield, A., 34 Walton Road, Warrington.
* Muller, Professor J.A., Ph.D., 4 St. John's Road, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Mumby, F. A., 135 Foxley Lane, Purley, Surrey.
Murray, Miss K. M. E., B.A., B.Litt., Upper Cranmore, Heyshott, Midhurst, Sussex.
Myers, A. R., M.A., The University, Liverpool, 3.
Myres, J. N. L., M.A., Christ Church, Oxford.
Myres, Rev. M. W., D.D., Frodsham Vicarage, nr. Warrington.

Namier, Professor L. B., M.A., The Victoria University, Manchester, 13.
Narayan, Brij., M.A., c/o Allahabad Bank, Ltd., Delhi, India.
* Neale, Professor J. E., M.A., University College, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Neale, Lieut.-Colonel R. H. R., Headquarters, Eastern Command, Cavalry Barracks, Hounslow, Middlx.
Nef, Professor J. U., Ph.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
Neilson, Professor N., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
New, Professor C. W., B.A., Ph.D., McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Newton, Professor A. P., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A., 52 Erskine Hill, N.W.11.
Nichols, J. F., M.C., M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A., 105 College Road, Isleworth, Middlesex.
* Nicholson, T. C., M.A., Strathmore, Wath-upon-Dearne, nr. Rotherham.
Nijhoff, Wouter, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague, Holland.
Noakes, Miss J., Little Lindens, Linden Path, Leatherhead.
Nobbs, D., M.A., 51 Craiglockhart Avenue, Edinburgh, 11.
* Nunn, William, Gillgrass, Gosforth, Cumberland.

Oakley, T. P., Ph.D., 522 West 122nd Street, New York City, U.S.A.
O'Brien, Rev. E. M., M.A., Ph.D., Lindsey Street, Neutral Bay, Sydney, Australia.
O'Connell, Rev. Sir John R., M.A., LL.D., Artillery Mansions, 75 Victoria Street, S.W.1.
Offer, Rev. C. J., M.A., Highmore Vicarage, Henley, Oxon.
* Oke, A. W., B.A., LL.M., F.S.A., 32 Denmark Villas, Hove, Sussex.
Oman, Professor Sir Charles, K.B.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Frewin Hall, Oxford.

Onslow, The Right Hon. the Earl of, G.B.E., M.A., Clandon Park, Guildford.
O'Sullivan, Professor Mary J. Donovan, M.A., Lisgorm, Galway, Ireland.
Owen, C. V., Committee of Imperial Defence (*Historical Section*), Dorland House, 18/20 Lower Regent Street, S.W.1.
* Owen, Commander J. H. (retired), Broadwater House, Stevenage, Herts.
Owen, Professor L. V. D., M.A., University College, Nottingham.
* Owen, Robert, Eryl Owen, Bryneglwys, Welshpool.
Owst, Professor G. R., Litt.D., D.Lit., Ph.D., Gresham House, Cambridge.

Packard, Professor S. R., Ph.D., 85 Washington Avenue, Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.
Page, M. E., Fore Street, Bridgwater.
* Paget, Major T. G. F., J.P., D.L., Sulby Hall, Welford, Rugby.
Paik, Professor L. G., M.A., Ph.D., 1905 Lothrop Street, Omaha, Nebr., U.S.A.
Pakeman, Professor S. A., M.C., M.A., University College, Colombo, Ceylon.
Pantin, W. A., M.A., F.S.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Pares, R., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Parker, Captain H., F.R.G.S., 2 Albemarle Street, W.1.
Parker, H. M. D., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
* Parker, L. N., F.R.A.M., Inverteign, Bishopsteignton, S. Devon.
* Parkinson, C. N., M.A., Ph.D., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Parry, E. Jones, M.A., Ph.D., Willow Lawn, Caradoc Road, Aberystwyth.
Parsloe, C. G., B.A., 19 Sispara Gardens, S.W.18.
* Partridge, R. C. B., Victor House, 297 Jamaica Road, S.E.16.
Pearce, J. P., F.R.I.B.A., Lloyds Bank Buildings, 66 Bold Street, Liverpool, 1.
Pearn, B. R., M.A., University College, Rangoon, Burma.
* Pearson, Rev. A. F. Scott, D.Th., D.Litt., The Manse, Johnstone, Renfrewshire.
Peel, Rev. Albert, M.A., Litt.D., 97 Russell Road, Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
Peel, J. K., M.A., 6 Canterbury Terrace, Leicester.
Penn, C. D., M.A., 25 Henderson Road, S.W.18.
Penson, Professor Lillian M., Ph.D., 69 Wellington Court, Wellington Road, N.W.8.
Petrie, Sir Charles, Bt., M.A., Lillington House, nr. Sherborne, Dorset.
Peyton, S. A., Ph.D., 20 London Road, Reading.
* Phelps, Rev. P. B., M.A., Swanmore, nr. Bishop's Waltham, Hants.
Phillips, Major C. E. L., M.C., Cranhill, Cranmore, Shepton Mallet, Som.
Pickthorn, K. W. M., M.A., M.P., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
Pieris, P. E., C.M.G., Litt.D., The Priory, Colombo, Ceylon.
Plucknett, Professor T. F. T., M.A., LL.B., 17 Crescent Road, S.W.20.
Plunket, Miss Irene A. L., M.A., Knockderry, Ashley Road, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.
* Pollard, A. F., D.Litt., D.Lit., Litt.D., F.B.A., Brierfield, Milford-on-Sea, Hants.
Pond, P. J., Springfield House, Chalford, Stroud, Glos.
Poole, A. L., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.

Porteus, Rev. T. C., M.A., B.D., St. George's Vicarage, Gillibrand Walks, Chorley, Lancs.
Postan, Professor M., M.Sc., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
* Potter, Professor G. R., M.A., Ph.D., The University, Sheffield.
Potter, H., Ph.D., LL.B., King's College, Strand, W.C.2.
Powell, Miss D. L., B.A., 51 Elm Park Mansions, Park Walk, S.W.10.
* Powell, Miss Helen L., 127 Vassall Road, S.W.9.
Powell, Miss I. G., M.A., Royal Holloway College, Englefield Green, Surrey.
Powell-Price, J. C., M.A., I.E.S., Allahabad, United Provinces, India.
Power, C. E., 24 Howard Road, New Malden, Surrey.
Powicke, Professor F. M., M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., Oriel College, Oxford.
Powley, E. B., B.A., B.Litt., 6 Partridge Road, Blundellsands, Liverpool, 23.
Pratt, Rev. M. A. R., 5 Epworth Chambers, P.O. Box, 931, Christchurch, New Zealand.
Preston, A. E., F.S.A., Whitefield, Abingdon.
* Previté-Orton, Professor C. W., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 55 Bateman Street, Cambridge.
Proby, Granville, M.A., F.S.A., Elton Hall, Peterborough.
Procter, Miss Evelyn E. S., M.A., St. Hugh's College, Oxford.
Purvis, A., B.Sc., 6 Greenhalgh Walk, N.2.
Purvis, Rev. J. S., M.A., Goodmanham Rectory Lodge, Market Weighton, E. Yorks.
Putnam, Professor Bertha H., Ph.D., Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
Pybus, Miss H. J., M.A., Newnham College, Cambridge.

Radford, C. A. R., B.A., Bradninch Manor, Devon.
Rae, D. M., M.A., Teachers' Training College, Epsom, Auckland, S.E.13, New Zealand.
Ragatz, Professor L. J., M.A., Ph.D., The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Ramsey, R. W., F.S.A., 43 Ladbroke Square, W.11.
Ravenshaw, J., B.A., St. Ermin's Hotel, Westminster, S.W.1.
Rawlinson, H. G., M.A., c/o Thos. Cook & Son, Berkeley Street, W.1.
Ray, J. E., 9 Stanley Road, Hastings.
Read, Conyers, Ph.D., Villa Nova, Pa., U.S.A.
* Realey, C. B., Ph.D., University Club, 1435 Ohio Street, Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.
Reaney, P. H., M.A., Litt.D., Ph.D., West Dean, Bargates, Leominster, Hereford.
* Reddaway, T. F., M.A., 2 Buckingham Road, Cambridge.
* Reddaway, W. F., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Redlich, Rev. Canon E. B., M.A., B.D., Little Bowden Rectory, Market Harborough.
Redstone, V. B., F.S.A., 3 Seckford Street, Woodbridge.
Rees, Rev. T. Mardy, 24 Rugby Avenue, Neath, S. Wales.
Rees, Professor W., M.A., D.Sc., University College, Cathay's Park, Cardiff.
Reid, Miss R. R., M.A., D.Lit., 40 Cholmley Gardens, N.W.6.

* Renaut, Professor F. P., LL.D., D.Litt., 38 rue du Lourmel, Paris, XV^e^, France.
Renier, G. J., Ph.D., 9 Grafton Mansions, Duke's Road, W.C.1.
Rich, E. E., M.A., St. Catharine's College, Cambridge.
Richardson, H. G., M.A., B.Sc., High Barn, 14 Sheridan Road, S.W.19.
Richardson, Professor R. K., Ph.D., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., U.S.A.
* Richmond, Admiral Sir H. W., K.C.B., M.A., D.C.L., F.B.A., Downing College, Cambridge.
Riddell, The Hon. William Renwick, B.Sc., LL.D., D.C.L., Osgoode Hall, Toronto, Canada.
Riker, Professor T. W., B.Litt., 2300 Leon Street, Austin, Texas, U.S.A.
Rimmer, Rev. J. S., M.A., B.D., The Rectory, Ulverston.
* Roberts, Captain J. H., 61 Wind Street, Swansea.
Roberts, P. E., M.A., Worcester College, Oxford.
* Roberts, R. A., Smithy Cottage, Orford, Woodbridge.
Robertson, Miss A. J., M.A., Ph.D., 44 Calthorpe Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
Robertson, Sir C. Grant, C.V.O., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Robertson, L. A., M.A., B.Litt., 310 Ferry Road, Edinburgh, 5.
Robinson, Professor Chalfant, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., U.S.A.
Robinson, Professor E. E., Ph.D., Stanford University, Cal., U.S.A.
Robinson, Miss E. M., Moylena, 80 Underhill Road, S.E.22.
Robinson, Professor Howard, M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Robinson, Morgan P., M.A., LL.B., 113 S. 3rd Street, Richmond, Va., U.S.A.
*Rodkey, F. S., A.M., Ph.D., 325 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Roe, F. Gordon, Kingston Lodge, 24 Addison Road, W.14.
Rogers, Rev. Patrick C. J., M.A., D.Litt., St. Malachy's Diocesan College, Belfast.
Ronan, Rev. M. V., 6 Eblana Avenue, Dun Laoghaire, Co. Dublin.
* Rose-Troup, Mrs. Frances, 8 Howell Road, Exeter.
Roth, Cecil, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 1 Garford Road, Oxford.
Rothwell, H., B.A., Ph.D., The University, Edinburgh.
* Routh, Miss E. M. G., Burstone, Cheriton Bishop, nr. Exeter.
Routledge, F. J., M.A., B.Litt., 19 Banks Avenue, Great Meols, Wirral, Cheshire.
Rowe, Miss B. J. H., M.A., B.Litt., c/o National Provincial Bank, The Square, Bournemouth.
Rowse, A. L., M.A., All Soul's College, Oxford.
Runciman, J. C. S., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Russell, Ephraim, M.A., B.Sc., Newlands, Swanlon, Winsford, Cheshire.
Russell, J. C., Ph.D., 422 Cameron Avenue, Chapel Hill, N.C., U.S.A.
Rutherford, Professor J., M.A., Ph.D., University College, Auckland, New Zealand.
Ruud, M. B., Ph.D., 429 Walnut Street, S.E., Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.

Sadler, H. W. W., Grammar School, Uxbridge Road, Hayes, Middlesex.
Sadullah, M., M.A., 20–0 Chanburji Gardens, Lahore, Punjab, India.

Sage, Professor W. N., M.A., Ph.D., University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
Sainsbury, Miss E. B., M.B.E., 29 Abercorn Place, N.W.8.
* Salter, F. R., M.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Saltmarsh, J., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Salusbury-Jones, G. T., M.A., B.Litt., 9 Grange Gardens, Grange Road, Cambridge.
* Samuel, S. (Hon.), LL.D., 104 Forest Hill Road, Toronto, Canada.
* Samuel, W. S., F.S.A., 102 Cheapside, E.C.2.
Sanigar, W. T., 205 Avon Vale Road, Barton Hill, Bristol.
Sastri, K. N. V., M.A., Ph.D., H.H. Maharaja's College, Mysore, India.
Saunders, H. W., M.A., D.Litt., 22 Butler Avenue, Harrow, Middx.
Sayles, G. O., M.A., D.Litt., The University, Glasgow.
Schofield, B., M.A., Ph.D., British Museum, W.C.1.
Scholefield, G. H., O.B.E., D.Sc., 42 Upper Watt Street, Highland Park, Wellington, New Zealand.
Schuyler, Professor R. L., A.M., Ph.D., Columbia University, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
* Scofield, Miss Cora L., Ph.D., The College Club, 40 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
Scott, Rev. H. S., D.Phil., B.Litt., Oddington Rectory, Islip, Oxon.
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* Seebohm, Hugh Exton, J.P., Poynders End, Hitchin.
Sefton-Jones, Mrs. H. M., Hampton Court Palace, Hampton Court, Middlesex.
Sen, Surendra Nath, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt., 6/3 Ekdalia Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta, India.
Seton-Watson, Professor R. W., D.Litt., Ph.D., F.B.A., 1 Parkside Gardens, S.W.19.
* Seybolt, Professor R. F., M.A., Ph.D., University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., U.S.A.
Seymour, President C., LL.D., Litt.D., 43 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
* Shaw, Professor P. E., M.A., Ph.D., Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.
Shaw, W. B., F.S.A.(Scot.), 56 Sandy Lane, Stretford, nr. Manchester.
* Shawcross, Major G. N., R.E. (T.A.), M.B.E., Deanwood, Rivington, nr. Bolton.
Shelley, R. J. A., Denbie House, Formby, Lancs.
Shelley-Rolls, Sir J. C. E., Bt., Avington Park, Winchester.
Sherwani, Professor H. K., M.A., Rahat Fiza, Himayalnagar, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.
* Shettle, Rev. Canon G. T., L.A., Hunsingore House, Wetherby, Yorks.
Shirley, Rev. Canon F. J., M.A., LL.B., Precincts 15, Canterbury.
Siebert, Professor W. H., M.A., University Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
* Sieveking, A. Forbes, F.S.A., 7 Belsize Grove, N.W.3.
Sikes, J. G., M.A., Newnham Grove, Cambridge.

* Simpson, Rev. F. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Skipton, Rev. H. P. K., F.S.A., St. Philip's Parsonage, Reigate.
Slosser, Rev. Professor G. J., S.T.M., Ph.D., 203 Summit Avenue, Bellevue, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
Smart, Lieut.-Colonel F. W. B., M.A., Rathmoyle, Hurtmore, Godalming.
Smith, D. B., The Library, Admiralty, S.W.1.
* Smith, Miss M. Howes, M.A., 2 Sunny Bank, Stamford Road, Bowdon, Cheshire.
Smith, W. Owston, M.A., I.E.S., 41 Molyneux Park, Tunbridge Wells.
* Smyth, Rev. C. H. E., M.A., 186 Huntingdon Road, Cambridge.
Soltau, Professor R. H., M.A., American University, Beirut, Syria.
Somers, Rev. H. J., J.C.B., M.A., Ph.D., St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
Somerville, R., B.A., Arlea, 15 Donnington Road, Kenton, Middlesex.
Southam, Colonel L. A. C., D.S.O., Rodney House, Malvern Link.
Southern, R. W., M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
Spencer, T. P., M.A., County Secondary School, Heanor, Nottingham.
Spens, H. B., B.A., 169 West George Street, Glasgow, C.2.
Stafford, G. W., M.A., Moorbeck, Lightwood Road, Buxton.
* Stampa, L., M.A., F.S.A., Stanton, Higher Erith Road, Torquay.
Standing, T. G., M.A., Prince Edward School, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia, South Africa.
Stanley, G. F. G., M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B., Canada.
Steed, Wickham, LL.D., 7 Lansdowne House, Holland Park, W.11.
Steefel, L. D., M.A., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Steel, A. B., M.A., Christ's College, Cambridge.
* Stenton, Mrs. F. M., B.A., Whitley Park Farm, Reading.
Stenton, Professor F. M. (*President*), M.A., D.Litt., Litt.D., F.B.A., The University, Reading.
Stock, Leo F., M.A., Ph.D., LL.D., Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1017 Michigan Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
Stretton, Miss G., M.A., 8 Devonshire Gardens, W.4.
Summers, H. F., Market Place, Southwell, Notts.
Sumner, B. H., M.A., Balliol College, Oxford.
Sumner, E. J., M.A., Sedgwick House, Sedbergh, Yorks.
Sumner, Rev. Percy, F.S.A., St. Luke's Vicarage, 14 Erleigh Road, Reading.
Sutherland, Miss L. S., M.A., Somerville College, Oxford.
Sweet, Professor A. H., A.M., Ph.D., Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa., U.S.A.
Sykes, Rev. Professor Norman, M.A., D.Phil., Westfield College, N.W.3.

* Tanner, Miss E. M., B.A., Roedean School, Brighton.
Tanner, L. E., M.V.O., M.A., F.S.A., 49 Romney Street, S.W.1.
Tapley-Soper, H., F.L.A., F.S.A., City Library, Castle Street, Exeter.
Tate, W. E., Sneyd Church School, Nile Street, Burslem, Staffs.
Tawney, Professor R. H., B.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 44 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
* Tayler, Miss H., 181 Queens Gate, S.W.7.

Taylor, A. J., M.A., 12 Thornton Hill, S.W.19.
Taylor, Professor Eva G. R., D.Sc., 34 Oakley Street, S.W.3.
Taylor, Rt. Rev. Abbot, F.L.A., M.C., M.A., St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate.
Thistlethwaite, B., 10 Victoria Road, Harborne, Birmingham.
Thomas, A. H., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Records Office, Guildhall, E.C.2.
Thompson, Miss A. D., 30 Bolam Street, S.W.11.
Thompson, Professor A. Hamilton, C.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., 7 Beaufort Mansions, Beaufort Street, S.W.3.
Thompson, Miss B. M. Hamilton, M.A., B.Litt., Abbey House, Palace Green, Durham.
Thompson, Rev. J. M., M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
Thomson, Miss G. Scott, M.A., F.S.A., 23 Carlisle Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.1.
Thomson, M. A., M.A., D.Phil., 123 Gower Street, W.C.1.
Thornley, Miss I. D., M.A., F.S.A., 6 Cholmeley Crescent, N.6.
Thrupp, Miss S. L., M.A., Ph.D., 2626 13th Avenue West, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.
Tipping, C. H., B.A., Hotel Manchester, Cheltenham.
Todd, Professor J. E., M.A., Queen's University, Belfast.
* Todhunter, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., Bangalore, India.
Tolhurst, J. B. L., F.S.A., 47 Manor Road, Beckenham, Kent.
Tomkeieff, Mrs. O. G., M.A., LL.B., King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2.
Tory, Henry Marshall, M.A., LL.D., D.Sc., 327 Buena Vista Road, Rockcliffe Park, Ottawa, Canada.
Tout, Mrs. T. F., M.A., 10 North Square, N.W.11.
Toye, D. B., O.B.E., LL.D., 32 Welbeck Avenue, Hove, Sussex.
Toynbee, Miss M. R., M.A., Ph.D., 22 Park Town, Oxford.
Toyne, S. M., M.A., Little Acres, Ware, Herts.
Treharne, Professor R. F., M.A., Ph.D., Hillside, Brynymor Road, Aberystwyth.
* Trevelyan, Professor G. M., O.M., Litt.D., F.B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Trickett, A. S., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Brother's College, Drew University, Madison, N.J., U.S.A.
Trotter, R. G., A.B., A.M., Ph.D., Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.
Tunstall, W. C. B., M.A., 34 Dartmouth Row, S.E.10.
Turberville, Professor A. S., M.C., M.A., B.Litt., 94 Potternewton Lane, Leeds.
Tyler, J. E., M.A., The University, Sheffield.
Tyson, M., M.A., Ph.D., The Victoria University, Manchester, 13.

* Usher, Professor R. G., Ph.D., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.

Van der Byl, F. V., M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., Rodney House, Rodney Road, Cheltenham.
Van Cleve, Professor T. C., M.A., Ph.D., Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.

Vaucher, Professor Paul, D. ès L., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.1.
Veale, E. W. W., LL.D., 14 Orchard Street, Bristol.
Veitch, Professor G. S., M.A., Litt.D., 8 Brompton Avenue, Liverpool, 17.
* Vickers, Principal K. H., M.A., University College, Southampton.

* Wade, C. E., M.A., 39 Regent's Park Road, N.W.1.
* Wake, Miss Joan, Northamptonshire Record Society, County Hall, Northampton.
Wale, W., Cambridge Villas, 121 The Promenade, Cheltenham.
Walker, Professor E. A., M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge.
Walker, Major G. G., D.S.O., M.C., Armoury House, City Road, E.C.1.
Walker, J., M.A., Ph.D., Ashlynne, 33 Heaton Road, Huddersfield.
Walker, J. Holland, M.B.E., F.S.A., 15 Park Valley, Nottingham.
* Walker, J. W., O.B.E., F.S.A., Twemlow Hall, Holmes Chapel, Cheshire.
Walker, W. H. T., M.A., New Street, Heckington, nr. Sleaford, Lincs.
* Wall, J. C., 108 Canterbury Road, E.10.
* Ward, Mrs. J. G. S., B.A., Ph.D., Unsted, Hartswood Road, Brentwood, Essex.
* Warmington, Professor E. H., M.A., 48 Flower Lane, N.W.7.
* Watt, James, LL.D., W.S., 7 Blackford Road, Edinburgh, 9.
* Watts, Rev. Herbert C., 27 Jaycroft, Burnham-on-Sea.
* Weaver, F. J., M.A., Beechleys, Winkton Common, Christchurch, Hants.
* Webster, Professor C. K., M.A., Litt.D., F.B.A., 38 Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.1.
Wedgwood, Miss C. V., B.A., 23 Sheffield Terrace, W.8.
Weiner, A., M.A., 77 Gilling Court, Belsize Grove, N.W.3.
Weitzmann, Miss S., M.A., Ph.D., 15 Clissold Court, Green Lanes, N.4.
Welbourne, E., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Wernham, R. B., M.A., Trinity College, Oxford.
Westergaard, Professor Waldemar, Ph.D., 1000 Manning Avenue, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
Whale, Miss G. B., B.A., 29 Park Place, Cardiff.
Wheeler, H. F. B., D.Litt. (Hon.), Balholmen, Grove Road, Northwood, Middlesex.
* White, Miss E. M., Westcroft, Norton Road, Wembley, Middlesex.
White, G. H., 2 Dungarvan Avenue, S.W.15.
Whitehead, A. W., M.A., c/o The Midland Bank, Hill Street, Jersey, Channel Islands.
Whiteley, J. G., 223 West Lanvale Street, Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.
Whitelock, Miss D., M.A., St. Hilda's College, Oxford.
* Whitfield, Professor A. S., B.Litt., Dyffryn-on-Sea, Merioneth.
Whiting, Rev. Professor C. E., D.D., B.C.L., F.S.A., Hickleton, Doncaster.
* Whitley, Rev. W. T., LL.D., Aldeburgh, The Avenue, Thornton Park, Brentwood, Essex.
Whyte, Rev. A. J. B., M.A., Litt.D., 26 Latimer Road, Headington, Oxford.
Wilkinson, Rev. J. T., M.A., B.D., Roseville, Knighton, Radnorshire.
Wilkinson, M., M.A., St. John's College, Oxford.
Williams, A. J., M.A., 4 Lime Grove, Bath.
* Williams, Professor A. F. Basil, M.A., F.B.A., 380 Holland Park, W.11.

Williams, Professor C. H., M.A., 50 North Hill, N.6.
Williams, H. G., M.A., High School for Boys, Westcliff-on-Sea.
Williams, Rev. James, 19 St. Margaret's Road, Oxford.
Williams, Miss Judith B., Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
Williams, Professor J. W., M.A., B.Litt., The Roundel, St. Andrews, Fife.
Williams, L. F. Rushbrook, C.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., Rye House, Silchester, nr. Reading.
Williams, T. G., M.A., 63 Eardley Crescent, S.W.5.
Williams, Rev. Watkin, M.A., Wentworth House, Great Malvern.
Williams, W. W., B.Sc., Sedgemead, Wroxham Drive, Upton, Wirral, Cheshire.
Williamson, F., Museum and Art Gallery, Derby.
Willson, D. H., Ph.D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
Wilson, A. E., M.A., D.Litt., Terrington, Tivoli Crescent N., Brighton.
Wilson, H. W., D.Litt., Birchfield, Verulam Road, Hitchin, Herts.
* Wilson, Rev. S. G., B.Litt., F.S.A.(Scot.), Blean Vicarage, Canterbury.
Winfield, Professor P. H., LL.D., F.B.A., 13 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
Winstanley, D. A., M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
Wittke, Professor Carl, A.B., A.M., Ph.D., 278 West College Street, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
Wood, A. C., M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil., 21 Elm Avenue, Beeston, Nottingham.
Wood, Herbert, B.A., F.S.A., 74 Hazlewell Road, S.W.15.
Wood, Miss M., M.A., Ph.D., 13 Learmonth Gardens, Edinburgh, 4.
Wood, N., M.A., Ph.D., 21 Llanberis Grove, Nuthall Grove, Nottingham.
Woodbine, Professor G. E., B.A., Ph.D., LL.B., Guilford, Conn., U.S.A.
Woodhead, E. W., M.A., 39 Eaton Road, Norwich.
Wood-Legh, Miss K. L., B.Litt., Ph.D., 49 Owlstone Road, Cambridge.
Woods, E. C., L.D.S., R.C.S., Green Gables, Bowness-on-Windermere.
Woodward, E. Ll., M.A., All Souls College, Oxford.
Wrong, Professor G. M., M.A., LL.D., 73 Walmer Road, Toronto, Canada.
Wynn, Rev. H. E., M.A., Pembroke College, Cambridge.

Yorke, Philip Chesney, M.A., L.-ès-L., 98 Addison Road, W.14.

Zaleski, August, B.Sc., 70 Queen's Gate, S.W.7.
Zema, Rev. D. B., Ph.D., Fordham University, New York City, U.S.A.

ASSOCIATES OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Bennett, R. F., B.A., 48 Hornchurch Road, Romford, Essex.
Blaydon, G. R., Guildhall, Thetford, Norfolk.
Borough, Rev. R. F., M.A., F.S.A., Bradbourne Vicarage, Ashbourne, Derbyshire.
Briers, Miss P. M., c/o Committee for the History of Parliament, 1 Queen Annes Gate Buildings, Dartmouth Street, S.W.1.
Brown, Miss M. M. M. Graham, M.A., 43 Poynder's Court, Poynder's Road, S.W.4.
Bruce, M., B.A., 45 Clifton Road, Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire.

Collar, H., The Museum, Saffron Walden, Essex.
Cook, E. T., 116 Westwood Park, S.E.23.
Crews, C. C., M.A., Highfield, The Flats, Blackwater, nr. Camberley, Hants.
Crowe, Miss S. Eyre, M.A., Ph.D., 84 Chelsea Park Gardens, S.W.3.

Daniel, E. W., B.A., c/o Education Department, Port of Spain, Trinidad, B.W.I.

Elvin, L., 10 Almond Avenue, Swanpool, Lincoln.
Emsden, Nevil, 14 Bowthorpe Road, Wisbech, Cambs.
Evans, G., School House, Brereton, Sandbach, Cheshire.

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Hay, Denys, B.A., University College, Southampton.
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James, A. W., B.A., Oak Mount, Hord Lane, Didsbury, Manchester.
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Kelley, Miss L. W., M.A., 15 Lexham Mews, W.8.

Lea, R. S., M.A., 29 Crestway, S.W.15.

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Nabholz, Professor Hans, Dr.Phil., D.-ès-L., The University, Zürich, Switzerland.

Petit-Dutaillis, Charles, D.-ès-L., F.B.A., Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, France.
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Re, Emilio, Cav. Dr., Archivio di Stato, Rome, Italy.

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Susta, Professor Josef, Dr. Phil., Charles University, Prague, Czecho-Slovakia.

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Aberdeen University.
Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales.
University College of Wales.

Bangor, University College of North Wales.
Bath, Municipal Library.
Belfast, The Queen's University.
Birkenhead Public Library.
Birmingham Library, Margaret Street.
Public Libraries (Reference Library).
University.
Bolton Central Reference Library, Town Hall Square.
Bradford Public Library, Darley Street.
Brighton Public Library, Royal Pavilion.
Bristol Central Library.
University.

Cambridge, Girton College.
Newnham College.
Peterhouse.
St. Catharine's College.
St. John's College.
The Seeley Historical Library, The Old Schools.
University Library.
Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library.
Cardiff Public Library.
Carlisle Public Library, Castle Street.
Cork, University College.
Coventry, Gulson (Central) Library.

Downside Abbey, *see* Stratton-on-the-Fosse.
Dublin, King's Inns Library.
National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street.
Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street.
Trinity College.
Durham University.

Edinburgh, Signet Library.
National Library of Scotland.
Public Library.
University Library.
Englefield Green, Surrey, Royal Holloway College.
Exeter, University College.

Glasgow, Baillie's Institution, 153 West Regent Street.
Faculty of Procurators Library, 68 St. George's Place.
Mitchell Library.
University Library.
Gloucester Public Library, Brunswick Road.
Grimsby Public Library.

Hawarden, Flint, St. Deiniol's Library.
Hove Public Library.
Hull, University College.

Leeds Library, Commercial Street, Leeds.
Public Library.
The University.
Leicester Municipal Library, Wellington Street.
Lincoln, The County Library, Newland.
Liverpool, Athenæum, Church Alley.
Public Library.
University.
London, The Admiralty Library, S.W.1.
The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Battersea Public Libraries, Lavender Hill, S.W.11.
Bedford College for Women, Regent's Park, N.W.1.
Birkbeck College, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
British Museum, W.C.1.
Chelsea Public Library, Manresa Road, S.W.3.
Chiswick Public Library, Duke's Avenue, W.4.
Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.1.
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Fulham Public Library, 598 Fulham Road, S.W.6.
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Hampstead Central Public Library, Finchley Road, N.W.8.
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House of Commons Library, S.W.1.
House of Lords Library, S.W.1.
Inner Temple Library, E.C.4.
Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
Kensington Public Library, High Street, W.8.
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Law Society Library, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
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Lincoln's Inn Library, W.C.2.
London Library, St. James's Square, S.W.1.
London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, Aldwych, W.C.2.
London University, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
Middle Temple Library, E.C.4.
National Portrait Gallery, S.W.1.
Oxford and Cambridge University Club, 71 Pall Mall, S.W.1.

London, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, W.C.2.
Reform Club, 104 Pall Mall, S.W.1.
Royal Holloway College, *see* Englefield Green.
Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1.
St. George's Public Library, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.
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Southwark Central Library, Walworth Road, S.E.17.
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United University Club, 1 Suffolk Street, S.W.1.
University College Library, Gower Street, W.C.1.
Westfield College Library, Hampstead, N.W.3.
Dr. Williams's Library, 14 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

Manchester, The John Rylands Library.
Public Libraries.
Middlesbrough Free Library, Municipal Buildings.
Mirfield, House of the Resurrection.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society
Public Library.
Newport (Mon.), Public Library.
Norfolk and Norwich Library, Guildhall Hill, Norwich.
Nottingham Public Reference Library.
University College.

Oldham, Union Street Library.
Oxford, All Souls College.
Balliol College.
Bodleian Library.
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Exeter College.
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The Queen's College.
Union Society.

Plymouth, The Athenæum, George Street.
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St. Andrews University.
Sheffield Public Library.
University.
Southampton, University College.
Stafford, William Salt Public Library.
Stonyhurst College, Whalley, Lancs.

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Swansea University College, Singleton Park.

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Wimbledon Public Library, S.W.19.
Windsor, Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

York Public Library.
Yorkshire Architectural and Archæological Society, c/o Rev. Angelo Raine, Dringhouses, York.

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Brisbane (Australia), Public Library.
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Cape Town (South Africa), South African Library.
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Johannesburg (South Africa), Public Library.

Lahore (India), University of the Punjab Library.
London (Canada), University of Western Ontario Library.
Lucknow (India), Lucknow University College Library.

Melbourne (Australia), University Central Library.
Public Library.
Montreal (Canada), Civic Library, 1210 Sherbrooke Street E.
McGill University Library, 3459 McTavish Street.

Nagpur (India), University of Nagpur.

Ottawa (Canada), Library of Parliament.

Perth (West Australia), Public Library.
Pretoria (South Africa), State Library.

Sydney (Australia), Public Library, Parliament Buildings.
University Library.

Toronto (Canada), Legislative Library of Ontario, Parliament Buildings.
Public Library, College and St. George Street.

Valletta (Malta), The Royal Malta Library.
Vancouver (British Columbia, Canada), University of British Columbia Library.
Victoria (British Columbia, Canada), Provincial Library.

Wellington (New Zealand), General Assembly Library.
Victoria University Library.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BELGIUM.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale.
Gand, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 2 Fosse d'Othon.

CHINA.

Peiping, The National Library (Periodical Division), Kunming, Yunnan.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

Prague, University Library.

DENMARK.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek.

FRANCE.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
Institut de France, 23 Quai de Conti.
Université de Paris.
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 6 Place de la République.

GERMANY.

Berlin, Preussische Staats-Bibliothek.
Bonn, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Freiburg i. Br., Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Göttingen, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
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Jena, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
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Marburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
Münich, Bayer Staats-Bibliothek.
Würzburg, Universitäts-Bibliothek.

ITALY.

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

NORWAY.

Oslo, The University Library.

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SWEDEN.

Göteborg, Stads Bibliotek.
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Stockholm, Kungl. Bibliotek.
Uppsala, K. Universitetets-Bibliotek.

SWITZERLAND.

Basel, Universitäts-Bibliothek, Schonbeinstrasse, 20.
Zürich, Zentral Bibliothek.

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Amherst (Mass.), Amherst College Library.
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Austin (Texas), Texas University Library.

Baltimore (Md.), Enoch Pratt Library.
Johns Hopkins University Library.
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Berkeley (Cal.), California University Library.
Bethlehem (Pa.), Lehigh University Library.
Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University Library.
Boston (Mass.), Athenæum Library.
Massachusetts Historical Society, 1154 Boylston Street.
New England Historic Genealogical Society, 9 Ashburton Place.
Public Library.
Brunswick (Me.), Bowdoin College Library.
Bryn Mawr (Pa.), Bryn Mawr College Library.
Buffalo (N.Y.), Grosvenor Public Library.

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Charlottesville (Va.), University of Virginia Library.
Chicago (Ill.), Newberry Library.
University Library (Order Section W. 21).

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Cleveland (Ohio), Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue, N.E.
Clinton (N.Y.), Hamilton College Library.
Columbia (Miss.), University of Missouri Library.
Columbus (Ohio), State University Library.

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Durham (N.C.), Duke University Library.

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Houston (Texas), Rice Institute Library.

Ithaca (N.Y.), Cornell University Library.

Jersey City (N.J.), Free Public Library, 472–486 Jersey Avenue.

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University of California Library, 405 Hilgard Avenue.

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Public Library.
University, Washington Square Library, 32 Waverley Place.
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Pennsylvania University Library.
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Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Queen Street, Edinburgh.
The Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, 20 Bedford Square, W.C.1.
Surrey Archæological Society, Castle Arch, Guildford.
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Hansischer Geschichtsverein, Staats Archiv, Königstrasse 21, Lübeck.

HOLLAND.

Commissie van Advies voor Rijks Geschied-kundige Publicatien, The Hague.
Historisch Genootschap, Utrecht.

POLAND.

Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Varsovie, L'Université, Warsaw.

SPAIN.

Real Academia de la Historia, Calle del Leon 21, Madrid.

SWITZERLAND.

Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft der Schweiz. Stadt Bibliothek, Berne.

UNITED STATES.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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TRANSACTIONS.*

Old series, 1872–1882. Vols. I to X.
New series, 1884–1906. Vols. I to XX.
Third series, 1907–1917. Vols. I to XI.
Fourth series, 1918–1941. Vols. I to XXIII.

* Vols. 1, 2, 3 and 9 of the Old series are out of print. Old series, vols. 4, 5, 7, 10, and Third series, vol. 9, are only supplied by special leave of the Council. Others are supplied at the following rates: current number, 15s.; volumes of the New, Third, and Fourth series, 10s. each; volumes of the Old series, 7s. 6d. each. The earliest volumes of the *Transactions* were issued to Fellows in unbound parts. Any discrepancies in the lettering of bound volumes during these periods are doubtless due to this.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS.

Domesday commemoration. Notes on the manuscripts, etc., exhibited at the Public Record Office. 1886. 5s.

Domesday studies. 2 vols. Edited by P. E. Dove. 1886. 24s.

England and Napoleon in 1803 : being the despatches of Lord Whitworth and others. Edited by Oscar Browning. 1887. 7s. 6d.

Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. Edited by Elizabeth Lamond and the Rev. W. Cunningham. 1890. 12s.

Proceedings of the Gibbon commemoration, 1794–1894. 1895. 5s.

The Domesday of Inclosures, 1517–18. Edited by I. S. Leadam. 2 vols. 1897. 30s.

A bibliography of the historical works of Mandell Creighton, William Stubbs, S. R. Gardiner and John, Lord Acton. Edited by W. A. Shaw. 1903. 5s.

German opinion and German policy before the War. By G. W. Prothero. 1914. 4s.

Magna Carta commemoration essays. With preface by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce. Edited by H. E. Malden. 1917. 25s.

A repertory of British archives. Part I. England. Compiled by Hubert Hall. 1920. 10s. 6d.

A list and index of the Transactions and Publications of the Royal Historical Society (1869–1924) and of the Publications of the Camden Society (1840–1897). Edited by Hubert Hall. 1925. 5s.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ISSUED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Bibliography of British history : Tudor period, 1485–1603. Edited by Conyers Read. 1933. Oxford Univ. Press, 30s. (Special price, 20s. 9d.)

Bibliography of British history : Stuart period, 1603–1714. Edited by Godfrey Davies. 1928. Oxford Univ. Press, 21s. (Special price, 16s. 6d.)

Bibliography of British History : 1715–1789. Edited by D. J. Medley and S. M. Pargellis. (*In preparation.*)

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Writings on British history, 1934. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1937. London, Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British history, 1935. Compiled by A. T. Milne. 1939. London, Jonathan Cape, 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British History, 1936. Compiled by A. T. Milne. London, Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d. (Special price, 10s.)

Writings on British History, 1937. Compiled by A. T. Milne. London, Jonathan Cape. (*In preparation.*)

GUIDES AND HANDBOOKS.

1. Guide to English commercial statistics, 1696–1782. By G. N. Clark, with a catalogue of materials by Barbara M. Franks. 1938. 7s. 6d.

2. Handbook of British chronology. Edited by F. M. Powicke, with the assistance of Charles Johnson and W. J. Harte. 1939. 7s. 6d.

Provisionally accepted for future publication :

Handbook of British currency. Edited by A. E. Feavearyear.

List and index of parliamentary papers, 1700–1800. Edited by E. Wagstaff and A. T. Milne.

Bibliography of medieval cartularies. Edited by W. A. Pantin.

Medieval British Libraries, an index of surviving books.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE LATE CAMDEN SOCIETY, CONTINUED (FROM 1897) AS THE CAMDEN SERIES OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.†

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